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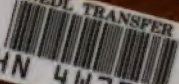
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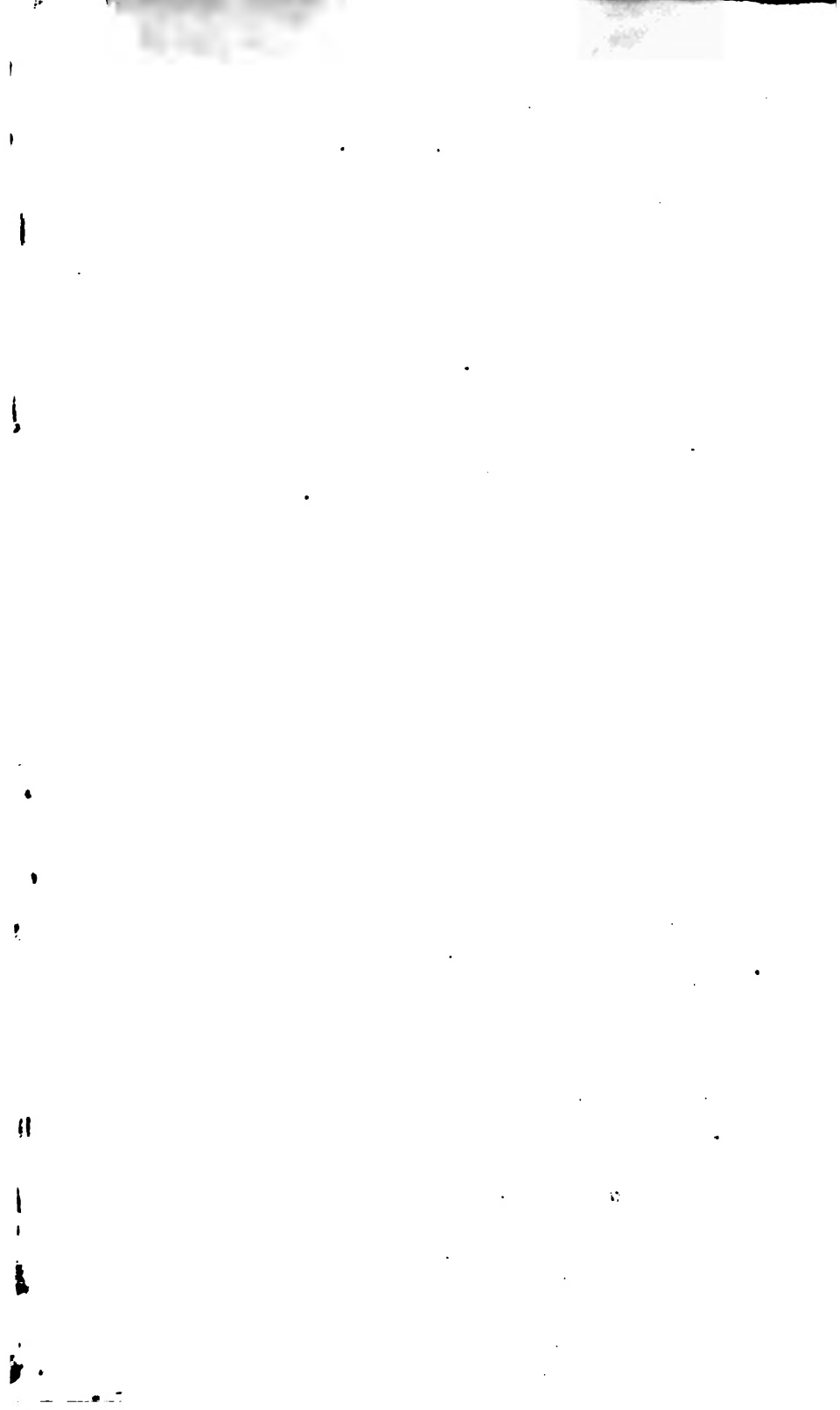
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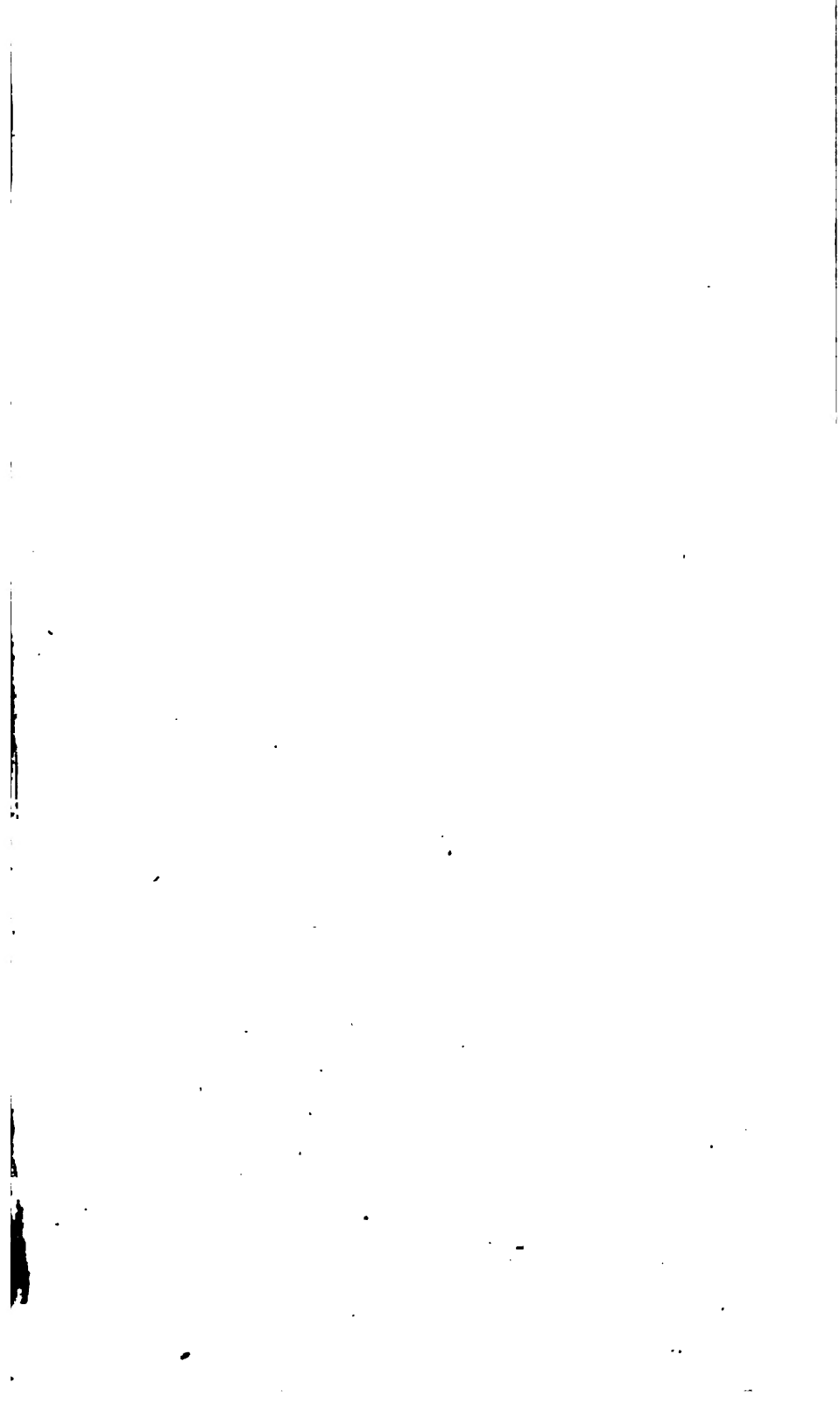
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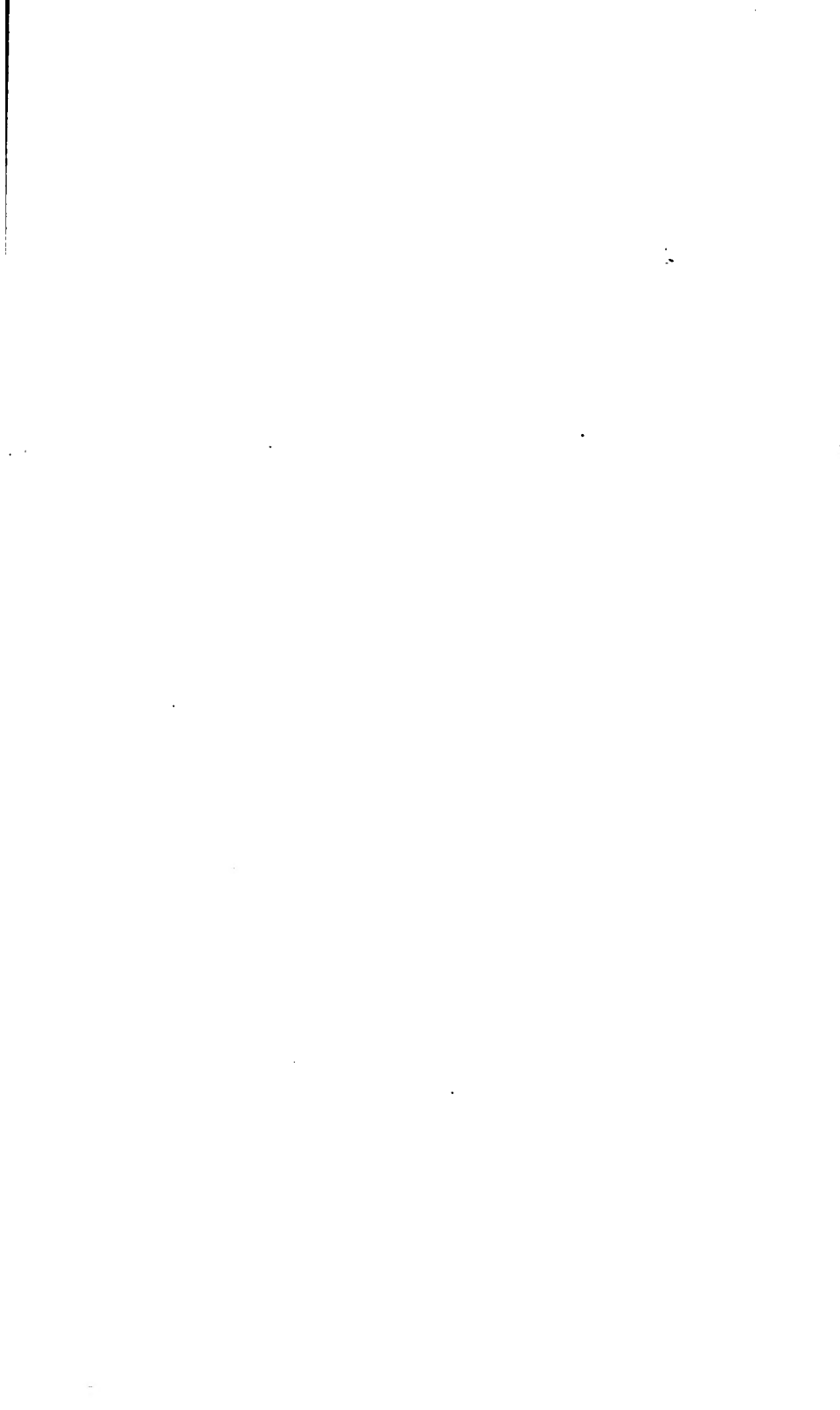












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THE

# ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,  
CARTHAGINIANS,  
ASSYRIANS,  
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES & PERSIANS,  
MACEDONIANS,  
AND  
GRECIANS.

BY CHARLES ROLLIN,  
LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, &c.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.  
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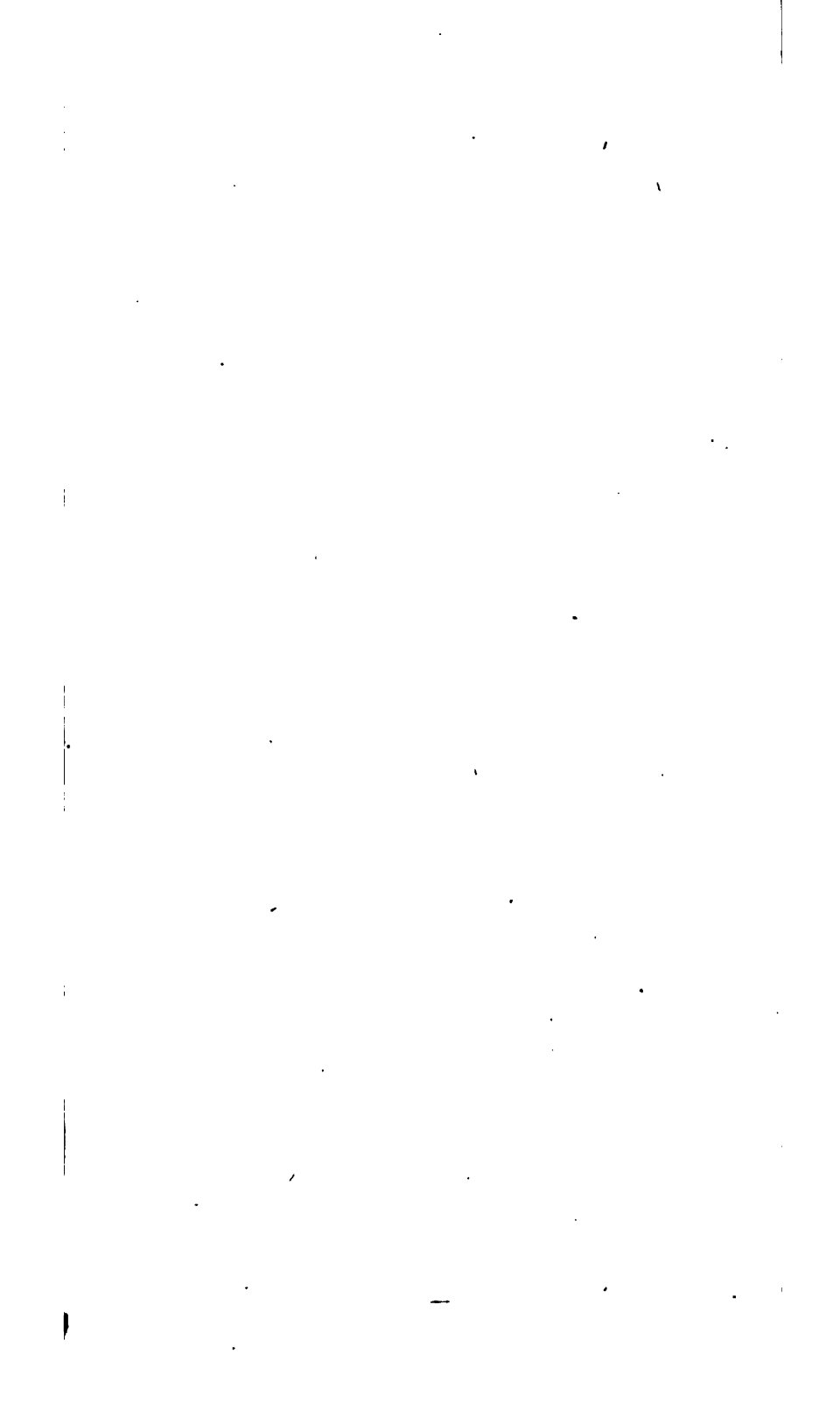
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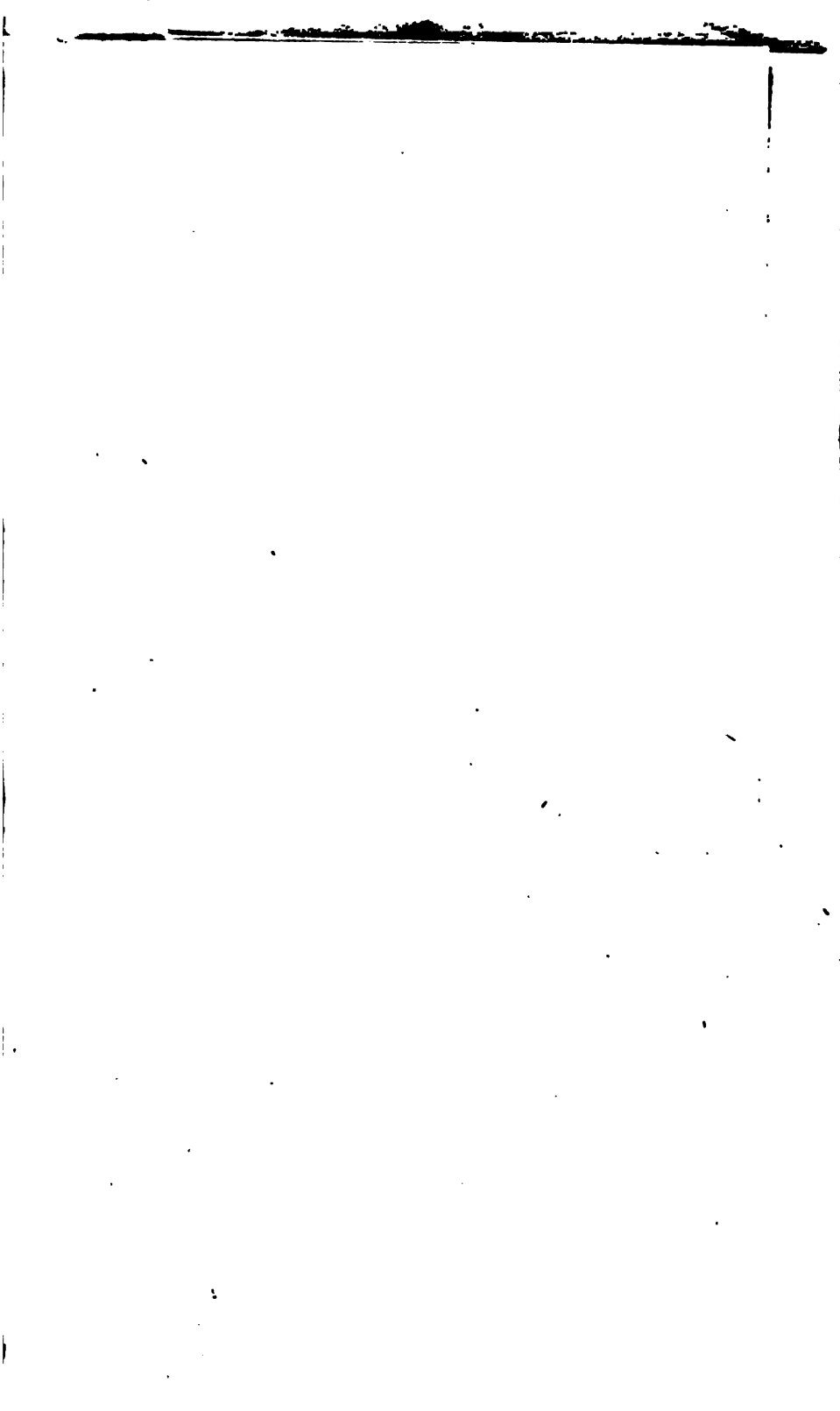
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## BOOK XVIII.

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## HISTORY

OF

# ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS

CONTINUED.

### SECTION IV.

THE ROMANS SEND AN EMBASSY TO ANTIOCHUS.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST  
PTOLEMY.—SCOPAS PUT TO DEATH.

**T**HE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwise would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the same time, Philip and Antiochus: for it was evident that the Romans would soon be obliged to proclaim war against the king of Syria, who enlarged his conquests daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to cross over into Europe.

\* After having established good order in Coelosyria and Palestine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and possessed himself of several cities of Asia Minor, and, among those, of Ephesus, he took the most proper measures for the success of his designs, and to give him the possession of all those kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his ancestors.

Smyrna, Lampsacus, and the other Grecian cities of Asia who enjoyed their liberty at that time, seeing plainly that he intended to bring them under subjection, resolved to defend themselves: but being unable to resist so powerful an enemy, they implored the Romans for protection, which was soon granted. The Romans saw plainly, that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the west, and how fatal the consequence would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity those free cities gave them, of opposing it; and immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the ambassadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already sent his detachments from his army, which had formed the sieges of Smyrna and

\* A. M. 3808. Ant J. C. 196. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian. de bellis Syr. p. 86—88.

Lampsacus. That prince had passed the Hellespont in person with the rest of it, and possessed himself of all the Thracian Chersonesus. Finding the city of \*Lysimachia all in ruins, the Thracians having demolished it a few years before, he began to rebuild it, with the design of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus his second son ; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capital of a new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended by deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. In the first conferences, the whole passed in civilities, which appeared sincere ; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia which he had taken from him : that he should evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip : it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war which the Romans had carried on against that prince : and that he should not molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprised at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet ; and for rebuilding Lysimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered, that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized : that with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to receive it. With respect to Lysimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it, with the design of making it the residence of Seleucus his son ; that Thrace and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him ; that they had been conquered from Lysimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors, and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them ; and therefore he desired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Asia than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. These spoke with so much freedom, as incensed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a passion that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this, the assembly broke up in great disorder ; none of the parties received satisfaction, and the whole seemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to go and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lysimachia with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to those parts. He first went to Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail as soon as possible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was spread, concerning Ptolemy's death was false. For this reason he changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, in order to seize it ; but a storm that arose sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his measures. He thought himself very happy in having an opportunity of entering the har-

\* This city stood on the isthmus or the neck of the peninsula.

bour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

\* The foundation of the rumour which was spread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conspiracy having been really formed against his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greatest part of which were Ætolians, his countrymen, imagined that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let slip the opportunity, by consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting, he would certainly have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprized of the conspiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest; after which he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed with all his accomplices. This plot made the government confide no longer in the Ætolians, who, till then, had been in great esteem for their fidelity; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country. After Scopas's death, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the course of his victories in Palestine, had subjected Judæa and Jerusalem to the Egyptian empire, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is often very short; and the fidelity of that general who discovers a passion for riches cannot be safely relied on.

One of Scopas's principal accomplices was Dicæarchus, who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very strange action is related of that man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties, before he came out of the harbour, he set up two altars, one to injustice, and the other to impiety, and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine, at the same time, both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He dispatched all the others by poison, but as for Dicæarchus, he caused him to die in exquisite torments.

The contrivers of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes administered under him, all things went well: but when he conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death (to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him), the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

† When the ten commissioners, who were sent to settle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report, they told the senate that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would be still more dangerous than that they had just before terminated: that Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet: that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had

\* Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771—773.

† A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 195. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 44—49. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 2.

set out, in order to possess himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made Greece the seat of the war: that the *Ætoli*ans, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and disgusted with Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: that Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant, Nabis, more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it; and therefore, having been restored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign, and fall under a more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.

Flaminius was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus' steps. He had just before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the spring, in order to go to Ephesus; and had scarce left it when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmolested in Carthage, during six years, from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans; but he was now suspected of holding a secret correspondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the design of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies sent advice of this secretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embassy to Carthage, for more particular information in the fact; with orders, in case the proofs should be manifest, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general \* had too much penetration and foresight, and had been too long accustomed to prepare for storms, even in the greatest calms, not to suspect their design; so that before they had an opportunity to execute their commission, he withdrew privately, got to the coast, and went on board a ship which always lay ready by his order against such an occasion. He escaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Ephesus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in suspense whether he should engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great satisfaction. He did not doubt but with the counsel and assistance of a man who had so often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby justly acquired the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to complete all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests: accordingly war was resolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations. Nevertheless, during that time, embassies were sent on both sides, upon pretext of an accommodation, but in reality to gain time, and spy what the enemy were doing.

† With regard to Greece, all the states except the *Ætoli*ans, whose secret discontent I observed before, enjoyed the sweets of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the state of things when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cause of their meeting, "you perceive," says he, "that the subject of the present deliberation solely regards you. Our business is to determine, whether Argos, an ancient and most illustrious city, situated in the midst of Greece, shall enjoy its liberty in common with the rest of the cities, or whether it shall continue subject to the tyrant of

\* Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad prospicienda cavendaque pericula peritum; nec minus in secundis adversa, quam in adversis, secunda cogitantem. Justin.

† Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 22—45.

"Sparta, who has siezed it. This affair concerns the Romans only, as the slavery of a single city would bereave them of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece. Consider therefore what is to be done, and your resolutions shall determine my conduct."

The assembly were not divided in their opinion, except the *Ætoli*ans, who could not forbear showing their resentment against the Romans, which they carried so high as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping possession of *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*, at a time that they boasted their having entirely restored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no less against the rest of the allies, who desired to be secured from the rapine of the *Ætoli*ans, who, according to them, were Greeks only in name, but its real enemies in their hearts. The dispute growing warm, *Quintius* obliged them to debate only on the subject before them; upon which it was unanimously resolved that war should be declared against *Nabis*, tyrant of *Sparta*, in case he should refuse to restore *Argos* to its former liberty; and every one promised to send a speedy succour; which was faithfully performed. *Aristhenes*, general of the *Achæans*, joined *Quintius* near *Cleone*, with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse.

*Philip* sent 1500 men as his quota, and the *Thessalians* 400 horse. *Quintius'* brother arrived also with a fleet of 40 galleys, to which the *Rhodi*ans and king *Eumenes* joined theirs. A great number of *Lacedæmonian* exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had *Agispolis* at their head, to whom the kingdom of *Sparta* justly belonged. When but an infant he had been expelled by *Lycurgus*, the tyrant, after the death of *Cleomenes*.

The allies designed at first to besiege *Argos*, but *Quintius* thought it more advisable to march directly against the tyrant. He had greatly strengthened the fortifications of *Sparta*, and had sent for 1000 chosen soldiers from *Crete*, whom he joined to the other 1000 he had already among his forces. He had 3000 other foreign troops in his service; and, besides these, 10,000 natives of the country, exclusive of the *Helots*.

At the same time, he also concerted measures to secure himself from domestic troubles. Having caused the people to come unarmed to the assembly, and posting armed soldiers round them, after some little preamble, he declared, that as the present juncture of affairs obliged him to take some precautions for his own safety, he therefore was determined to imprison a certain number of citizens, whom he had just cause to suspect; and that the instant the enemy should be repulsed (whom, he said, he had no reason to fear, provided things were quiet at home), he would release those prisoners. He then named about 80 youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a strong prison, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He also put to death in the villages a great number of the *Helots*, who were suspected of a design to desert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity spread universal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly resolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle against troops much superior in number to his own.

*Quintius* having advanced to the *Eurotas*, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was forming his camp, *Nabis* detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect such a sally because they had not been opposed at all upon their march, they were at first put into some disorder; but soon recovering themselves, they repulsed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, *Quintius* leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other side of the city, when the rear guard had passed, *Nabis* caused his foreign troops to attack it.

The Romans instantly faced about, and the charge was very rude on both sides ; but at last, the foreigners were broke and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed ; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, pursued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amiclæ ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas, and from thence ruined the valleys at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the sea.

At the same time, the proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid siege to Gythium, at that time a strong and very important city. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very seasonably ; for the besieged defended themselves with great courage ; however, after making a long and vigorous resistance they surrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city, and therefore sent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Besides several other arguments in his own favour on which Nabis laid great stress, he insisted strongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himself had concluded with him in the war against Philip : an alliance on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans professed themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which they boasted their having never violated : that nothing had been changed on his part since the treaty : that he was then what he had always been, and had never given the Romans any new occasion for complaints or reproaches. These arguments were very just ; and, to say the truth, Quintius had no solid reasons to oppose to them. Accordingly, in his answer he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny : but was he less covetous, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty ? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, since the Romans required it ; as also, to give them up their prisoners and deserters. He desired Quintius, in case he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends ; to which Quintius consented. The Roman general also held a council with his allies. Most of them were of opinion, that they should continue the war against Nabis, which could only terminate gloriously, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at least his tyranny ; for that otherwise nobody could be assured that the liberty of Greece was restored : that if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a solemn manner, and giving a sanction to his usurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, because he was afraid that the Spartans would sustain a long siege, during which the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces against him. These were his pretended motives for desiring an accommodation ; but the true reason was, his being apprehensive that a new consul would be appointed to succeed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war ; a motive which commonly influenced the resolutions of the Roman generals more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reasons could make the least impression on the allies, he put on the appearance of giving into their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. " Let us besiege Sparta," says he, " since you think it proper, and exert ourselves to the utmost for the success of our enterprise. As you are sensible that sieges often spin out to a greater length than is generally desired, let us resolve to take up our winter-quarters here, since it must be so : this is a resolution worthy of

"your courage. I have a sufficient number of troops for carrying on this siege : but the more numerous they are, the greater supply of provisions and convoys will be necessary. The winter, that is coming on, exhibits nothing to us but a naked, ruined country, from which we can have no forage. You see the great extent of this city, and consequently the great number of catapultæ, battering-rams, and other machines of all kinds that will be wanting. Write each of you to your cities, in order that they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant manner, with all things necessary for us. We are obliged in honour to carry on this siege vigorously ; and it would be shameful for us, after having begun it, to be reduced to abandon our enterprise." Every one then making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreseen, and was fully sensible, that the proposal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, as particulars in consequence would be obliged to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expense of the war. Changing therefore immediately their resolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper, for the good of his republic, and the interests of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed, in concert with them, on the conditions of peace to be offered to the tyrant. The chief were, that within ten days Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis, garrisoned by his troops ; that he should restore to the maritime cities all the galleys he had taken from them : and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with 16 oars each : that he should surrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves : that he should also restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but however without forcing them to do so : that he should give five hostages, to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one : that he should pay down 100 talents\* of silver, and afterwards 50 talents annually during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles ; but he was surprised, and thought himself happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which he reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no further mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls, disdaining every other kind of fortification but the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only since the tyrants governed it, and that but in places which lay open, and were easy of access : all the other parts were defended only by their natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted in them. As Quintius's army was very numerous, consisting of above 50,000 men, because he had sent for all the land as well as naval forces, he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all

\* 100,000 crowns.



sides at the same instant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in sending succours, which quite distracted him.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because pressing on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the house tops. However, laying their shields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the testudo, or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles : the Romans advanced into the broader streets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames ; the fire spread on all sides ; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a distance from it ; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then caused a retreat to be sounded ; and after having almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes, by making new attacks, and at other times, by stopping up different places with works, in order that the besieged might have an opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis, seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp : but the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many entreaties, at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly, the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintius.

Whilst these things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated avices they had, imagined that Lacedæmonia was taken, restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintius after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother, who returned to their respective fleets repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemæan games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time, because of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and distributed the prizes in it, or rather, he himself was the show. The Argives, especially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defence, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious slavery, and restored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleased to see the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and restored to all their privileges : but Sparta being still enslaved, and a tyrant suffered in the midst of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it less perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that shameful and inglorious treaty, for so they called it, they exclaimed in all places against the Romans. They

observed, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece; that here on the contrary, the usurper was maintained in the peaceable possession of Sparta; whilst that the lawful king (meaning Agesipolis), who had served under the proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the remainder of their days in banishment; in a word, that the Romans had made themselves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in these complaints, confined their views solely to the advantages of liberty; but in great affairs, men should have an eye to all things; should content themselves with what they can execute with success, and not attempt a thousand schemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himself will show hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had set out to carry on the war with Sparta. He spent the whole winter in administering justice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and establishing order in all places; things which, properly speaking, are the real fruits of peace, the most glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on just and reasonable motives. The ambassadors of Nabis, being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

\* In the beginning of the spring Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general assembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he represented to them, the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the entreaties of the Greeks when they implored their succour, and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither side would have occasion to repent. He gave an account, in a few words, of the actions and enterprizes of the Roman generals, his predecessors, and mentioned his own with a modesty of expression that heightened their merit. He was heard with universal applause, except when he began to speak of Nabis; on which occasion, the assembly, by a modest murmur, discovered their grief and surprise, that the deliverer of Greece should have left, in so renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant not only insupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the rest of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the disposition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in a few words. He confessed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire destruction of Sparta: but, as there was reason to fear that this considerable city would be involved in the same ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was, than perhaps to run the hazard, should they employ too violent remedies, of destroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added to what he had said of past transactions, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to send the whole army thither: that before ten days should be at an end, they should hear that the garrisons of Demetrias and Chalcis were evacuated, and that he would surrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth: that this would show whether the Romans or Ætolians were most worthy of belief; whether the latter had the least foundation for the report they spread universally, that nothing could be of more dangerous consequence to a people than to trust the Romans with their liberties: and that they only shifted the yoke in accepting that republic for

their master instead of the Macedonians. He concluded with saying, that it was well known the Ætolians were not over prudent and discreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they trusted, and against whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to use their liberty with moderation; that with this wise precaution, it was of the highest advantage to particular persons as well as to cities; but that without moderation, it became a burthen to others, and even pernicious to those who abused it: that the chief men in the cities, the different orders that compose them, and the citizens themselves in general, should endeavour to preserve a perfect harmony: that so long as they should be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to distress them: that discord and sedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, because the party which finds itself weakest within, seeks for support without, and chooses rather to call in a foreign aid, than submit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his speech with conjuring them, in the mildest and most gentle terms, to preserve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans sensible, that in restoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to persons unworthy of it.

This counsel was received as from a father to his children. Whilst he spoke in this manner, the whole assembly wept for joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all who were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration: and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive with gratitude and respect the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and preserve the remembrance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this Quintius causing silence to be made, desired that they would inquire strictly after such Roman citizens as were in slavery in Greece, and send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintius in particular for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punic war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost the Achæans alone 100 talents, that is 100,000 crowns, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of about\* 12*l.* 10*s.* a head; consequently the number amounted to 1200. The reader may form a judgment, in proportion of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their saviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to bestow all possible blessings upon him.

He withdrew in the same manner the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in those cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Thessaly, where he found all things in the utmost disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people, amidst the other pomp, the precious spoils he had taken in the

\* 500 denarii.

wars against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Ar-  
menes, of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's tri-  
umph. But the noblest ornament of it was the Roman citizens delivered  
from slavery, who followed the victor's car, with their heads shaved, as a  
mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

## SECTION V.

ANTIOCHUS AND THE ROMANS PREPARE FOR WAR.—THE LATTER SEND  
TROOPS AGAINST NABIS.—HE IS KILLED.

ANTIOCHUS and the Romans were preparing for war\*. Ambassadors  
were arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of  
Asia Minor, and from several kings. They were favourably received by  
the senate; but as the affair of king Antiochus required a long examination,  
it was referred to Quintius and the commissioners who were returned from  
Asia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides.  
The ambassadors of the king were surprised, as their sovereign had sent  
them merely to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans, that  
the latter should pretend to prescribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch,  
and to nominate those cities which he might keep, and such as he was to  
abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many  
speeches and replies, declared to the king's ambassadors, that the Romans  
persisted in the resolution they had taken, to deliver the Grecian cities of  
Asia, as they had done those of Europe; and should see whether Antiochus  
would approve of that condition. They answered, that they could not en-  
ter into any engagement that tended to lessen the dominions of their sove-  
reign. On the morrow, all the rest of the ambassadors were again intro-  
duced into the senate. Quintius reported what had been spoken and trans-  
acted in the conference, and entreated each of them in particular, to in-  
form their respective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend  
their liberties against Antiochus, with the same ardour and courage as they  
had done against Philip. Antiochus's ambassadors conjured the senate not  
to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance; to allow  
the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and consider things ma-  
turely on their side, before they passed a decree, in which the public tran-  
quillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a decision, but de-  
puted to the king Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the same ambassadors  
who had already conferred with him at Lysimachia.

Scarce were they gone, but ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Rome,  
and acquainted the senate that Antiochus, at the instigation of Hannibal,  
was certainly preparing to carry on the war against the Romans. I have  
observed before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and was  
arrived at his court at the very instant the king was deliberating whether  
he should embark in this war. The presence and counsels of such a gene-  
ral contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time  
(and he always persisted in it) was, that he ought to carry his arms into  
Italy: that by this means the enemy's country would furnish them with  
troops and provisions; that otherwise no prince nor people could be superi-  
or to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy.  
He demanded but 100 galleys, 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse. He declared,

\* A. M. 3811. Ant. J. C. 193. Liv. 1. xxxiv. p. 57—62.

that with his fleet he would first go into Africa, where he was persuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, should he not succeed in the latter, he would sail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to distress the Romans; that it was necessary that the king should go over into Europe with the rest of his forces, and halt in some part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he should always seem upon the point of doing it.

The king approving this project at first, Hannibal sent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, so sound the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, lest they should be intercepted; not to mention that business is transacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was discovered, and escaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian senate sent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the same time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

\* No people at this time hated the Romans more than the Ætoliars. Thoas, their general, was forever incensing them; representing, in the most aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their last victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonstrance had the intended effect: and Damocritus was sent ambassador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicaearchus, Thoas's brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular instructions in regard to each of those princes.

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by dispossessing him of his maritime towns, as they furnished him with galleys, soldiers and sailors: that confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to see the Achæans reign over Peloponnesus: that he would never have so favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then presented itself: that the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might easily seize upon Gythium, which was situated very commodiously for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to send their legions again into Greece, to take a city of so little consequence.

Nicander employed still stronger motives to rouse Philip, who had been thrown down from a much superior height of greatness, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant; besides which, he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been subdued by their arms: that the proposal he made him would not expose him to any danger: that he did not desire him to declare war till Antiochus should have passed into Greece with his army; and that if he (Philip) unassisted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, sustained so long a war against the Romans and Ætoliars united, how would it be possible for the Romans to resist him when he should have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætoliars? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the sworn enemy to the Romans, of whose generals more had been defeated by him than were living at that time.

Dicaearchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He observed particularly, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had taken the spoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætoliars; that they alone had opened them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horse and foot with which they would furnish him; and the strong towns and sea ports possessed by them.

He did not scruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him against the Romans.

These are the steps the Ætolians took, to raise up enemies against Rome on every side. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time, and did not take their resolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to a rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and dispatched those who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace he had solicited so much. At the same time they sent troops to Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged, and ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate and people of what was doing.

\* Antiochus did not yet declare himself openly, but took secret measures for promoting the great design he meditated. He thought it advisable to strengthen himself by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes, and resigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, but upon condition, as had been before stipulated, that he should retain but half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have bestowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refused her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance with so great a monarch would be a great support to their house. However, Eumenes soon convinced them, by the reasons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He represented that should he marry Antiochus's daughter, he would be under a necessity of espousing his interest against the Romans, with whom he plainly saw this monarch would soon be at variance; that, should the Romans get the better, as it was highly probable they would, he should be involved in the same ruin with the vanquished king, which would infallibly prove his destruction: that, on the other side, should Antiochus have the advantage in this war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his son-in-law, he should be one of the first to become his slave; for they might be assured, that should Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would subject all Asia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: that they should have much better terms from the Romans, and therefore he was resolved to continue attached to their interests. The event showed that Eumenes was not mistaken.

After these marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Asia Minor, and arrived at Ephesus in the depth of winter. He set out from thence again in the beginning of the spring, to punish the Pisidians, who were inclined to revolt; after having sent his son into Syria, for the security of the provinces in the east.

I have said above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embassy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go first

\* Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 13—20. Appian. in Syriac. p. 88—93. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them that he desired nothing so much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having so powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very just alarm. In case of war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the same fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined; or, should the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes assured himself that part of his spoils and fortresses would be given him, which would enable him to defend himself, without any foreign aid, against his attacks: that after all, should things take a different turn, he had rather run the worst hazard, in concert with the Romans, than be exposed, by breaking with them, to submit either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left sick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Pisidia, went to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had several conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans. He had better success in the design he proposed in that conduct, which was by treating Hannibal with great courtesy, and making him frequent visits, to render him suspected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we shall soon see.

Livy, on the authority of some historians, relates that Scipio was on this embassy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated answer I have related elsewhere,\* when speaking of the most illustrious generals, he gave the first place to Alexander, the second to Pyrrhus, and the third to himself. Some authors look upon this embassy of Scipio as improbable, and the answer of Hannibal to be more so.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war against the Pisidians. In their interview, they spoke on much the same topics as those on which the king's ambassadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus his eldest son. He returned to Ephesus to lament his loss. But notwithstanding these fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his show of grief was merely political, and that he himself had sacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greatest hopes, and had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king growing jealous of him, had sent him from Ephesus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the security of the provinces of the east, and that he had caused some eunuchs to poison him there, to rid himself of his fears. A king, and at the same time a father, ought not to be suspected of so horrid a crime, without the strongest and most evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and sorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which ended in complaints on both sides; after which, they returned to Rome without having concluded any thing.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the present affairs; in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtiness of their demands, and said it was strange that they should attempt to prescribe laws to the greatest monarch of Asia, as if they

were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great ascendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they should make war, but how and in what manner they should carry it on; assured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in case he should cross into Europe, and settle in some part of Greece: that the Ætolians, who were in the centre of it, would be the first to declare against the Romans: that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis on the one side, to recover what he had lost, would raise all Peloponnesus against them; and that, on the other, Philip, who was still more disgusted, would not fail, at the first signal of war, to take up arms also: that they had no time to lose; and that the decisive point was, to seize upon the most advantageous posts, and to make sure of allies. He added, that Hannibal ought to be sent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered suspected to the king, was not summoned to this council. He had perceived on several other occasions, that the king's friendship for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer reposed the same confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unbosomed himself without the least disguise. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had sworn on the altars to be the eternal enemy of the Romans; "it is this oath," says he, "it is this hatred, that prompted me to keep the sword drawn during 36 years; it was the same animosity that occasioned my being banished from my country in a time of peace, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. If you defeat my hopes, guided by the same hatred, which can never expire but with my life, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up enemies against the Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them. As long as you shall resolve to make war against them, you may consider Hannibal as the first of your friends: but if there are any motives which incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not of me." Antiochus, struck with these words, seemed to restore him his confidence and friendship.

The ambassadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evidently from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it against him. They did not act so cautiously with regard to Nabis, who had been the first to violate the treaty, and was then actually besieging Gythium, and laying waste the territories of the Achæans. Achilius, the prætor, was sent with a fleet into Greece to protect the allies.

\* Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year. He was not inferior to any captain with respect to land service, but had no skill in naval affairs. Notwithstanding this he took upon himself the command of Achæan fleet, † and imagined that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land: but he learned to his cost, not to depend so much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly useful experience is on all occasions; for Nabis who had fitted out some vessels with expedition, defeated Philo-

\* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 25—30. Plut. in Philop. p. 363, 364.

† The great prince of Condé thought and spoke much more wisely.—In a conversation upon a sea-fight, the prince said, he should be very glad to see one, purely for his own instruction. A sea officer, who was present, replied, "Sir, were your highness in a sea-fight, there is no admiral but would be proud of obeying your orders." My orders!" interrupted the prince; "I should not presume even to give my advice, but should stand quietly on the deck, and observe all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own instruction."



poemen, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This disaster however did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen resolved if possible, to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprised him when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium surrendered; which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.

Philopœmen saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up his army, in making choice of the posts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errors of an enemy. On this occasion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled to draw the enemy into ambuscades, he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them; and whilst they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced about; and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in, from the rivulets and morasses with which it abounded, the general would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing the enemy; but causing a retreat to be sounded, he encamped on that very spot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully persuaded, that as soon as it should be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in small parties; he posted ambuscades in all the passes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; so that Nabis hardly saved a fourth of his army. Philopœmen having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and after having considerably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home laden with spoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, because it was manifestly owing solely to his prudence and ability. A circumstance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him, and which young officers should propose to themselves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult pass, he halted and asked himself, in case he was alone, or else inquired of those who were with him, in what manner it would be necessary to act, in case the enemy should come suddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in less order, as when an army is on its march; what post it would be proper for him to take? in what places to dispose his baggage, and how many troops would be necessary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could best secure his forage, and provide water? What route he should take the next day, after he should decamp, and in what order it were best to march? He had accustomed himself so early, and exercised himself so much in all these parts of the military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and he never was disconcerted by any unforeseen accident, but resolved and acted immediately, as if he had foreseen every thing that happened. These things form the great captain: but the

only method to be such, is to love one's profession, to think it an honour to improve in it, to study it seriously, and to despise the common topics of discourse of the indolent and insignificant part of an army, who have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

\* During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis, the Ætolians had sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to cross into Greece. They not only promised to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him, but also assured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on several other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare against them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the first of the ambassadors, expatiated upon all these advantages in the strongest and most pompous terms. He observed to him that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceless condition : that this would be the finest opportunity for him to possess himself of it : that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms : and that the instant he came among them, he would be master of the country. This soothing description of the state of the Grecian affairs made so deep an impression on him, that he could scarce give himself time to deliberate in what manner it would be most proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival, he found all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had been given them as an hostage, and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians. It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dexterous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was so much more their interest to oblige. This Quintius effected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurilochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he let drop some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude. Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directing himself to Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors with tears, conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who, he said, ought only to be answerable for it : that the Magnesians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most dear and valuable among men ; that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives, than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech, and Eurylochus, perceiving plainly that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge amongst the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus' court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by sea and land ; his numerous bodies of horse and foot ; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India ; and above all (which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace) the immense treasures which the king would bring with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Quintius had regular notice sent him of whatever was said or done in *Ætolia*. Though he looked upon all things as lost on that side, yet that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, and to lay the wrong still more on the side of the *Ætolians*, he thought proper to depute to their assemblies some ambassadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus' ambassador might advance. He gave this commission to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the *Ætolians*, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the assembly, by acquainting it that an ambassador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with saying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as Asiatics, had Antiochus concerned himself sooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then every people would have preserved their rights, and all had not been subjected to the Roman power: "but still," says he, "if you execute the designs you have formed, Antiochus may, by the assistance of the gods, and your aid, restore the affairs of Greece to their ancient splendour, how desperate soever their condition may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themselves, without saying a word of the king, with putting the *Ætolians* in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the service Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them, not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance as that in question; that bold resolutions taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleasing prospect at first, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely successful: that the Roman ambassadors, among whom was Quintius, were not far off: that as things were still undecided, it would show more wisdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their several claims and pretensions, than to involve precipitately Europe and Asia in a war, of which the consequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting the Romans into the assembly; so that the oldest and wisest among them were forced to employ all their credit, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not so much from any hopes he entertained of being able to make the least impression on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the *Ætolians*, were the sole cause of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it against their will, and merely through necessity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the *Ætolians* had concluded an alliance with the Romans: he made a transient mention of the many things by which they had infringed it; and after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints, than out of mere wantonness to blow up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the universe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which however were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard with great attention, and obtained without delay, and even in presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the *Ætolians* and Ro-

mans. Quintius desiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus, then in office, was so inconsiderate as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time ; but that he himself would soon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tiber ; so violent and furious a spirit had siezed all the Ætolians, and even their principal magistrates. Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

The Ætolian privy council formed, in one day, three very astonishing resolutions, to seize by a treacherous stratagem Demetrius Chalcis, and Lacedæmon ; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrius, where being assisted by Eurylochus' faction, who was in exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile : for the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good posture of defence, and enabled it to sustain a vigorous siege. Thus Thoas, failing in his design, returned back in the utmost confusion.

The enterprise against Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No access could be had to it but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march 1000 foot thither. To these were added 30 young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrate to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plains on the side of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes, having given the word to his troopers, attacks Nabis, whom he had purposely drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his horse. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, to lose no time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis' palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians : but he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures ; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, made a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprise against Sparta.

Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis' death, but he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states, his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the worthiest men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace, and furniture of

Nabis had been sold, they resolved by a public decree to make him a present of the monies arising from that sale, amounting to 120 talents, and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great personage was of the purest and most perfect kind, and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really such : not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves ; and therefore it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the house of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindest reception. Here he had an opportunity of considering the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his sentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was so astonished at all he saw that he did not dare so much as to mention to Philopœmen the present he was come to offer him ; so that giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was sent again, but was not more successful than before. At last, going a third time, he ventured, but with great pain to himself, to acquaint Philopœmen with the good will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity ; but the instant he had done speaking, he went to Sparta ; where, after expressing the highest gratitude to the Spartans, he advised them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting such of their friends as were men of probity, because they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wisdom without expense to them ; but to keep their gold to purchase and corrupt the wicked, and those who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their seditious discourses ; in order that being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. " For it is much more advisable," added he, " to stop an enemy's mouth than that of a friend." Such was the disinterestedness of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare these great and noble sentiments with the baseness of those groveling wretches, whose sole study is to heap up riches.

Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promises he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the present state of Greece, and especially by the resolutions which had been taken in the general assembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to set out immediately for that country. He went with such precipitation that he did not give himself time to concert the necessary measures for so important a war, nor carry with him a sufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampsacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities which he ought to have reduced before he declared war ; but Antiochus without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the east, brought only 10,000 foot and 500 horse. These troops would hardly have sufficed had he been to possess himself only of a naked and defenceless country, without having so formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppose.

He arrived first at Demetrias ; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been sent by the Ætolians and their ambassador, he went to Lamia, where their assembly was held. He was received there with the highest demonstrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected ; insinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their interest, since, at the first signal they gave him, he was come notwithstanding the inclemency of the

season, and without waiting till all things were ready ; but that their expectations should soon be answered ; that as soon as the season for navigation should arrive, they should see all Greece filled with arms, men and horses, and all the sea-coast covered with galleys ; that he would spare neither expense, application, nor danger, for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire the Ætolians the first rank in it ; that with his numerous armies there would arrive from Asia munitions of every kind ; that all he desired of them was only to provide his troops with whatever might be necessary for their present subsistence. Having ended his speech he withdrew.

The most judicious in the assembly saw plainly that Antiochus, instead of a real and present succour, as he had promised, gave them little more than hopes and promises. They could have wished that they had only chosen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, caused Antiochus to be nominated generalissimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council, whenever he should think proper to deliberate with them.

## SECTION VI.

ANTIOCHUS POSSESSES HIMSELF OF CHALCIS AND ALL EUBÆA.—THE ROMANS PROCLAIM WAR AGAINST HIM.

THE first subject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was \* with what enterprise to begin first. It was thought advisable to make a second attempt on Chalcis : and thereupon the troops set out for that city without loss of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians to have a conference with such citizens of Chalcis as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the strongest terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the seat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done : that nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, because that the one would always defend them against the other ; and that by this means they would hold both in respect : that they would do well to consider, in case they should not agree to the proposal now made them, the great danger to which they would expose themselves ; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great distance ; whereas the king was present, and at their gates.

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied, that he could not guess what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and was come into Greece : that he knew of no city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, nor that paid the least tribute to the Romans, nor complained of being oppressed by them : that as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they were free ; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the sweets of peace, under the protection and with the amity of the Romans : that they did not refuse the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians ; but that if they would show themselves friends, the first thing they were desired to do, was to leave their isl-

\* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 46—51. Appian. in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

and : that they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

This answer was reported to the king. As he had brought but few troops and was not able to force the city, he resolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a first step did him no honour and was no good omen in regard to the future.

They had recourse elsewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus and those of the Ætolians at *Ægæ*, where their assembly was held, in presence of Quintius, the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambassador spoke first. \* He was a vain man, as those generally are who live in the courts, and at the expence of princes : and fancying himself a great orator, he spoke with an absolute and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that a vast body of cavalry was passing the Hellespont, into Europe, consisting partly of cuirassiers, and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horseback, turned about and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone superior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry : the Dabæa, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caddusi-ans, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians ; the left of Aradians and the Sideses of Pamphylia ; nations who were allowed universally to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world : that it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him ; every one knowing that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold : that they were to judge, in proportion of the rest of the military preparations : that in consequence the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or an Hannibal ; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia ; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe : that nevertheless, though he was come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans that should interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies : that he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against the people in question, but only to stand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect ; adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be to remain spectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and against Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the safety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle worthy a great captain ? He declared, that he himself had observed him during the engagement wholly employed in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a priest, whilst himself was exposing his person and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preservation.

\* *Is, ut plerique quos opes regis alunt, vaniloquus, maria terrasque inani sonitu verborum compleverat.* Liv.

To this Quintius answered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had studied to please by this speech ; that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the disposition and character of the Ætolians, whose courage consisted solely in words, not in actions, he had not endeavoured to gain their esteem, but had studied to ingratiate himself with the king's ambassadors, and by their means with the king himself : that if the world had not known till now, what it was that formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the speeches made by the ambassadors showed it visibly enough : that on both sides nothing but boasting and falsehood had been employed : that, vaunting of troops they had not, they seduced and blew up the vanity of each other by false promises and vain hopes ; the Ætolians asserting boldly on one side, as you have just now heard, that they had defeated Philip and preserved the Romans, and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia ; and the king, on the other side, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horse and foot, and to cover the sea with his fleets. " This," says he, " puts me in mind of an entertainment given me in Chalcis, by a friend of mine, a very worthy man, who treats his guests in the best manner. Surprised at the prodigious quantity and variety of dishes that were served up, we asked him how it was possible for him, in the month of June, to get together so great a quantity of game. My friend, who was not vain-glorious like these people, only fell a laughing, and owned sincerely, that what we took for venison, was nothing but swine's flesh, seasoned several ways, and cooked up with different sauces. The same thing may be said of the king's troops, which have been so highly extolled, and whose number has been vainly multiplied in mighty names. For these Dahæ, Medes, Caddusians, and Elymæans, are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves rather than soldiers. Why may not I, Achæans, represent to you all the motions and expeditions of this great king, who one moment hurries to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for provisions and money ; and the next goes in person to the very gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged to retire with ignominy ? Antiochus has very injudiciously given credit to the Ætolians ; and they, with as little judgment, have believed Antiochus. This ought to teach you, not to suffer yourselves to be imposed upon, but to rely upon the faith of the Romans, which you have so often experienced. I am surprised they can venture to tell you, that it will be safest for you to stand neuter, and to remain only spectators of the war. That would, indeed, be a sure method ; I mean, to become the prey of the victor."

The Achæans did not deliberate long. The result was, that they should declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately at the request of Quintius, they sent 500 men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater satisfaction from the Boeotians, who answered, that they would consider on what was to be done when that prince should come into Boeotia.

In the mean time Antiochus advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before ; and now the faction against the Romans prevailing, the city opened its gates to him. The rest of the cities following their example, he made himself master of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquisition, in having reduced so considerable an island in his first campaign : but can that be called a conquest, where there are no enemies to make opposition ?



\* But terrible ones were making preparations against that prince. The Romans, after consulting the will of the gods by omens and auspices, proclaimed war against Antiochus and his adherents. Processions were appointed during two days, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to solemnize the great games for ten days, in case they should be successful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods ; at the same time omitting no human means to their success. The senators and inferior magistrates were forbidden to remove to any distance from Rome, from which they could not return the same day ; and five senators were not allowed to be absent from it at the same time. Acilius the consul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Brundisium, on the 15th of May ; and set out from Rome himself some days before.

About the same time, ambassadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Masinissa arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ships. The senate thanked them, but would accept of nothing except the corn, which they would pay for. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having solicited many cities to enter into alliance with him, went to Demetrias, and there held a council of war on the operations of the campaign. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began by insisting on the necessity of their endeavouring to engage Philip in Antiochus' interest ; which, he said, was so important a step, that if it succeeded they might assure themselves of the success of the war. " And indeed," says he, " as Philip sustained so long the whole weight of the Roman power, what may not be expected from a war in which the two greatest kings of Europe and Asia will unite their forces ; especially as the Romans will have those against them in it who gave them the superiority before ; I mean the Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom only, as is well known, they were indebted for victory ? Now who can doubt but Philip may easily be brought over from the Roman interest, if what Thoas so often repeated to the king, in order to induce him to cross into Greece, be true, that this prince, highly incensed to see himself reduced to a shameful servitude under the name of peace, waited only an opportunity to declare himself ? And could he ever hope one more favourable than that which now offers itself ?" If Philip should refuse to join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his son Seleucus at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means to render Philip incapable of assisting the Romans.

He then asserted that it would be impossible to reduce the Romans except in Italy ; for which reason he had before advised Antiochus to begin the war there : that since another course had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece, it was his opinion, as matters stood, that the king ought to send immediately for all his troops out of Asia, and not rely on the Ætolians, or his other allies of Greece, who possibly might fail him on a sudden : and that it would be proper to march towards those coasts of Greece opposite to Italy : and order his fleet to sail thither also : that he should employ half of it to alarm and ravage the coasts of Italy, and keep the other half in some neighbouring harbour, in order to seem upon the point of crossing into Italy ; and actually to do so, in case a favourable op-

\* A. M. 3313. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xvi. n. 1—15. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93—96.

portunity should present itself. By this means the Romans would be kept at home, to defend their own coasts ; and he judged this the best method for carrying the war into Italy, in which place only the Romans could be conquered : " these," concluded Hannibal, " are my thoughts ; and if I am not so well qualified for presiding in another war, I ought at least to have learned, by my good and ill successes, how to act in the field against the Romans. My zeal and fidelity may be depended upon. As to the rest, I beseech the gods to prosper all your undertakings, whatsoever they may be."

The council approved of Hannibal's advice ; however it was complied with only in the article which related to the troops of Asia ; orders being sent to Polyxenides, the admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted Antiochus from putting it in execution, by assuring him that he could not fail of being victorious : that in case this plan ere adopted, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, because he had formed it ; that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reason it was necessary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the best counsels lost, and the most powerful empires ruined.

The king, having joined the troops of the allies to his own, takes several cities of Thessaly ; he is however obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, Bebius the Roman prætor having sent it a speedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell distractedly in love with the man's daughter at whose house he lodged. Though upwards of 50, he was so passionately fond of that girl, who was not 20, that he resolved to marry her. Forgetting the two enterprises he had formed, the war against the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he spent the rest of the winter in feasts on the occasion of his nuptials. This taste for pleasure soon communicated itself from the king to the whole court, and occasioned an universal neglect of military discipline.

He did not wake out of his lethargy till news was brought that Acilius the consul was advancing towards him in Thessaly with the utmost diligence. Immediately the king set out ; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very small number of the confederate troops, whose officers told him that it was impossible for them, though they had used their utmost endeavours, to bring more forces into the field ; the king then found, but too late, how much he had been imposed upon by the great promises of Thoas, and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be safe for him to rely on the troops of such allies. All that he could do at this time was to seize the pass of Thermopylæ, and send to the Ætolians for a reinforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Asiatic forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only those troops he had brought the year before, which scarce exceeded 10,000 men.

Antiochus imagined he had provided sufficiently for his security against the Romans, who were advancing against him, by having seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and strengthening the natural fortifications with intrenchments and walls. The consul came forward, determined to attack him, and dispatched Cato his lieutenant, with a large detachment in quest of some by-path that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpressible fatigues, went over the mountains through the same path where Xerxes, and

Brennus afterwards, opened themselves a passage : when falling suddenly on some soldiers, whom he met there, he soon put them to flight. Immediately he orders the trumpets to sound, and advances at the head of his detachment sword in hand, and with great shouts. A body of 600 Ætolians, who guarded some of the eminences, seeing him come down the mountains, take to their heels, and retire towards their army, where they spread universal terror. At the same instant the consul attacks Antiochus's intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king having his teeth shattered by a stone, was in such excessive pain, that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to stand their ground, or wait the coming up of the Romans. They were now universally routed in a place where there was almost no outlets to escape through ; for on one side they were stopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks ; so that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The soldiers, however, crowding and pushing forward, to avoid the enemy's swords, threw one another into the morasses and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them perished. The victorious army continued the pursuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus's forces, 500 excepted, with whom he escaped to Chalcis.

After the battle was over, Acilius sent Cato to Rome with the news of this victory, and related in his letters, how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble in a general to do justice in this manner to virtue, and not to harbour any thing so mean as jealousy of another's merit. The arrival of Cato at Rome filled the citizens with a joy so much the greater, as they had very much doubted the success of the war against so powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for public prayers and sacrifices to be offered up to the gods by way of thanksgiving, for three days together.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the surrender of all the cities and fortresses which that prince had taken, and especially of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The consul after his victory, discovered such a moderation in every thing, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itself\*.

Though the Ætolians, by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of the least regard, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented that experience ought to teach them how little they could depend on Antiochus : that it was not too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans : that to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they should surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. These remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the balistæ, catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage, or rather fury. They immediately repaired such parts of the wall as were beat down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with a violence it was scarce possible to support, for they fought in the highest despair. They burned in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for 24 days without the least intermission either day or night.

\* Multo modestia post victoriam, quam ipsa victoria, laudabilior. Liv.

It was plain, that as the garrison did not consist of near so many forces as the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and uninterrupted assaults. And now the consul formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at 12 every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians, not doubting but this proceeded from the over-fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, took advantage of the repose allowed them, and retired at the same time with the Romans. They continued this practice for some time; but the consul having drawn off his troops at midnight as usual, at three that morning he assaulted the city in three places only; placing at a fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move till a signal should be given. Such Ætolians as were asleep, being very drowsy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmost difficulty; and those who arose from their slumber ran up and down at random wherever the noise called them. At day-break the signal being given by the consul, the assault was made in that part of the city which had not yet been attacked, and from whence the besieged on that account had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an instant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmost precipitation into the citadel. The general suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who till now had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of provisions, it could not hold out long: and accordingly, at the first assault, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners was Damocritus, a person of the greatest distinction among the Ætolians, who in the beginning of the war had answered Quintius, "that he would bring him the decree to Italy, by which " he had just before called in Antiochus."

At the same time Philip was besieging Lamia,\* which was but seven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before this, the Ætolians had deputed ambassadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promised them a speedy succour, gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept Thoas, who staid very willingly with him to hasten the execution of his promises.

† The Ætolians, who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclea, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might have much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negotiation came to nothing.

In the mean time, the consul laid siege to Naupactus, in which the Ætolians had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece, in other matters, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost the whole people in the same fate. The usage which Quintius had met with from the Ætolians had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. However, he was moved to compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore he advanced so near the walls as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens ran from all quarters to the walls. Those unfortunate people stretch forth their

\* Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.

† Liv. l xxxvi. n. 27—35.

hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintius, moved with their condition even to shedding of tears, expressed by his gesture that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens besought him to take compassion of them. Quintius, by a sign with his hand, bid them send deputies to him; when immediately Phineas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themselves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble posture: "your calamity," says he, "banishes from my mind all my thoughts of resentment and revenge. You now find that all things have happened as I foretold you they would; and you have not the consolation of being able to say, that none of these misfortunes were owing to yourselves. But destined as I am, by Providence, to preserve Greece, your ingratitude shall not cancel my inclination to do good. Depute therefore some persons to the consul, and beg a truce for as much time as may suffice for sending ambassadors to Rome, in order to make your submissions to the senate. I will be your mediator and advocate with the consul." They followed Quintius' advice in every thing. The consul granted them a truce, broke up the siege, and marched back his army to Phocis.

King Philip sent ambassadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the happy success of this campaign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the gods in the capitol. They were received there with the highest marks of distinction; and the Romans gave up to them Demetrius, the son of Philip, who had been an hostage in their city. Thus ended the war which the Romans carried on against Antiochus in Greece.

## SECTION VII.

POLYXANIDES DEFEATED BY LIVIUS.—L. SCIPIO CARRIES ON THE WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS, AND DEFEATS HIM NEAR MAGNESIA.

WHILST\* the affairs I have just related passed in Greece, Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed in Ephesus; relying on the assurances of his flatterers and courtiers that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who, they declared, did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering himself to be lulled to sleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land in Asia, and for Asia; and that he must resolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it, sword in hand, against enemies who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the eastern troops which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lysimachia, Sestus, Abydos, and other cities in

\* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41—45. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99, 100.

that neighborhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont ; and this being done he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was just before arrived in the *Ægean* sea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in *Ionia*. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides ; but at last Polyxenides was beat, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, 13 taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Cana, in *Ætolia*, drew their ships ashore and fortified with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

\* Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in *Magnesia*, assembling his land-forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coast, and resolved to equip another so powerful as might be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose he refitted such ships as had been brought off, reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into *Ætolia*, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round ; and marched in person with the rest into winter-quarters in Phrygia.

† During these transactions the *Ætolian* ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to audience, because, the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his credit in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the *Ætolians*. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as a people so very untractable, that it would be to no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option : these were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate, or to pay 1000† talents, and to acknowledge all those for their friends or enemies whom the Romans should consider as such. As the *Ætolians* desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made them. They therefore withdrew without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

‡ The next year the Romans gave the command of the land-armies which Acilius had before, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greatest service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. *Æmilius* Rhegillus.

The consul being arrived in *Ætolia*, did not trifle away his time in besieging one town after another : but wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the *Ætolians* a six month's truce, in order that they might have full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, he resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. However, he thought it advisable previously to in-

\* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 100.

† Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.

‡ About 190,000*l*.

|| A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1—7. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99, 100.

form himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly royal munificence. In the entertainments\* he made for the consul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy graceful air, and such a politeness as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus; for this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is also very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his guests the most illustrious personages in the world, a Roman consul, and at the same time general of the armies of that republic; and not only him, but Scipio Africanus, that consul's brother. Profusion is ordinary, and in some measure pardonable on these occasions; and yet nothing of that kind appeared in the reception which Philip gave to his guests. He regaled them in such a manner as became a great prince; and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own, but at the same time was far from discovering the least pomp or ostentation, and was infinitely improved by the engaging manner of the master of the feast; and by the care he took to set before his guests with taste and decorum whatever might be most agreeable to them. *Multa in eo dexteritas et humanitas visa.* These personal qualities, in the sense of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his guests a more advantageous idea of him, than the most sumptuous profusions could have done. This excellent taste on both sides, so uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for persons of their high rank.

The consul and his brother in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him, in the name of the Roman people, who had invested them with full powers for that purpose, the remainder of the sum he was to pay them.

Philip seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to accompany the Roman army, and to supply it with necessaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience taught him how much the Roman forces were superior to his own; and his inability to shake off the yoke of obedience and submission, always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people on whom his future fate depended; and it was wise in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwise in some measure, have been obliged to do. For, in reality, it was scarce possible for him not to retain a very strong resentment against the Romans for the condition to which they had reduced him; for kings are never able to accustom themselves to depend on, and submit to others.

† In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace, to favour the passage of the consul's troops into Asia. Polyxenides, Antiochus' admiral, who was a Rhodian exile by a stratagem defeated Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet appointed to succour the Romans. He attacked him by surprise in the harbour of Samos, and burnt or sunk 29 of his ships; and Pausistratus himself lost his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, so far from being discouraged by this great loss, meditated only their revenge. Accordingly, with incredible diligence they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both

\* *Multa in eo et dexteritas et humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; virum, sic ut ad cætera egregium, ita a comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum.* Liv.

† Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 9—11, et n. 18—22. Appian. in Syriac. p. 101—103.

fleets sailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was besieging in his capital. This succour arrived very seasonably; Eumenes being just on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes, the Achæan, who had formed himself under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raise the siege. He had entered the city with 1000 foot and 100 horse. At the head of his own troops only, and in sight of the inhabitants, who did not dare to follow him, he performed actions of such extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raise the siege, and quit the country.

\* The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal, who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians singly fought him on the coasts of Pamphylia. By the goodness of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megista, near Patara; and there blocked him up so close as made it impossible for him to act for the service of the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus much about the time that advice was brought that the Roman consul was advancing by hasty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont and enter Asia. Antiochus then saw the imminent danger he was in, and made haste to take all possible methods for preventing it.

† He sent ambassadors to Prusias, king of Bythia, to inform him of the design which the Romans had of entering Asia. They were ordered to display, in the strongest terms, the fatal consequences of that enterprise: that they were coming with a design to destroy all the kingdoms in the world, and subject them to the empire of the Romans; that after having subdued Philip and Nabis, they had resolved to attack him: that should he have the ill fortune to be overcome, the fire spreading, would soon reach Bithynia: that as to Eumenes, no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily submitted himself, and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

These motives had made a great impression on Prusias, but the letters he received at the same time from Scipio the consul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and suspicions. The latter represented to him, that it was the constant practice of the Romans to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance; and he mentioned several examples of that kind in which he himself had been concerned. He said, that in Spain several princes, who before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconsiderable figure, were since become great kings: that Masinissa had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that the dominions of Syphax had been given to him, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe: that Philip and Nabis, though vanquished by Quintius, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones: that, the year before, the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay, was remitted, and his son, who was an hostage in Rome, sent back to him: that as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had sent as their ambassador to Prusias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him which party might naturally expect to be victorious; and how much safer it would be for him to rely on the friendship of the Romans than on that of Antiochus.

\* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hannib. c. 8.

† Liv. l. xxxvii, n. 25—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 22.



This king being disappointed of the hopes he had entertained of bringing over Prusias to his interest, now meditated only how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, and prevent its being made the seat of war. He imagined that the most effectual way to do this would be to recover the empire of the seas, of which he had been almost dispossessed by the loss of the two battles related above ; that then he might employ his fleets against whom and in what manner he pleased ; and that it would be impossible for the enemy to transport an army into Asia by the Hellespont, or by any other way, when his fleets should be wholly employed to prevent it. Antiochus therefore resolved to hazard a second battle, and for that purpose went to Ephesus, where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, manned it to the best of his power, furnished it abundantly with all things necessary to another engagement, and sent it once more under the command of Polyxenides, in quest of the enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his resolution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara ; and that king Eumenes had sailed with his whole fleet to the Chersonesus to join the consul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myonesius, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked their fleet with as little success as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Ephesus, after having sunk or burned 29 of his ships, and taken 13.

\* Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat, that he seemed entirely disconcerted ; and, as if he had been deprived of his senses, on a sudden he took such measures as were evidently contrary to his interest. In his consternation he sent orders for drawing his forces out of Lysimachia and the other cities of the Hellespont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching towards those parts, with a design of crossing into Asia ; whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this, would have been to leave those troops in the places where they were. For Lysimachia being very strongly fortified, might have held out a long siege, and perhaps very far in the winter, which would have greatly incommoded the enemy by the want of provisions and forage ; and during the interval he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He not only committed a great error in drawing his forces out of those places at a time when they were most necessary in them, but did it in so precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and provisions, of both which he had laid up very considerable quantities, behind them in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army ; and at the same time the passage of the Hellespont was so open that they carried over their army without the least opposition at that very part where the enemy might have disputed it with them to the greatest advantage.

We have here a sensible image of what is so often mentioned in the Scriptures, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Isaiah threaten his people. "† For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water.—The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient.—The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning

\* Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 31. Applan in Syr. p. 104. † Is. c. iii. v. 1, 2, 3.

"artificer, and the eloquent orator." But a very remarkable circumstance is, that our pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that "God \*took away the king's judgment, and overthrew his reason: a punishment," says he, "that always happens when men are upon the point of falling into some great calamity." The expression is very strong: "God overthrew the king's reason." He took from him, that is, he refused him sense, prudence, and judgment; he banished from his mind every salutary thought; he confused him, and made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what †David besought God to do with regard to Ahitophel, Absalom's minister: "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness." The word in the Latin version is very strong, *infatua*: the import of which is, how prudent soever his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. "And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, the counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahitophel:—for the Lord hath appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom."

‡ The Romans being come into Asia; halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the same manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city, seeing their posterity conquerors of the west, and of Africa, and laying claim to Asia, as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors; imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendour than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome, and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city.

|| Whan advice was brought Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont, he began to think himself undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an ambassador to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army; it having halted for several days, that were the festival days at Rome, in which the sacred shields, called *ancilia*, were carried in solemn procession, with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *salii*, or priests of Mars, whose office was to keep these shields, had not crossed the sea yet; for, being one of the *salii*, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing, so that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it

\* Οὐκ ἐλαττώντας πῶς τῆς λογισμῆς οὐκ ἀπασὶ προσιοῦσιν ἀτυχήματι, ἀντιγίνεται—καὶ μὴ εἴτε τοὺς διαπλῆν ἐβύλαξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ βλαβείας.

† Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium Ahitophel. Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahitophel utile, ut induceret dominus super Absalom." 2 Reg. c. xv. 31 et xvii. 14. "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness. 2 Sam c. xv. 31. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom. Chap. xvii. v. 1.

‡ Justin. l. xxxi. c. 8.

|| Liv. l. 37. n 33—45. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 23. Justin. l. 31. c. 7, 8. Appian. in Syr. p. 105—110.

was, that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, and directed their worship to such improper objects ! This delay gave the king some hopes ; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered, both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation ; especially as he had a present to make him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy.

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the spokesman in this embassy, opened his speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negotiations for peace between his master and the Romans, now made him hope success in the present ; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect, were entirely removed ; that the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia ; that as to Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies, which they should demand of him ; that he would consent to refund the Romans half the expenses of this war ; he concluded with exhorting them, to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitude of human things, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity ; that they ought to rest satisfied with making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire ; that if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided that the limits of it were clearly settled.

The ambassador imagined, that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected ; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expenses of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expense of it ; they were not satisfied with his evacuating the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia ; but pretended to restore all Asia to its liberty, in the same manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected, unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him, that the king would send him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money ; and assured him that he might entirely dispose of all things in his power, if he could meditate a peace for him. To these overtures, Scipio made the following answer ; " I am not surprised to find you unacquainted both with me and the Romans, as you do not even know the condition of the prince who sent you hither. If, as you assert, the uncertainty of the fate of arms should prompt us to grant you peace upon easier terms, your sovereign ought to have kept possession of Lysimachia, in order to have shut us out of the Chersonesus ; or else he ought to have met us in the Hellespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia with us. But, by abandoning them to us, he put the yoke on his own neck ; so that all he now has to do, is, to submit to whatever conditions we shall think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers he makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with

"that which relates to the giving me back my son ; I hope the rest will not have the power to tempt me. As a private man, I can promise to preserve eternally the deepest sense of gratitude, for so precious a gift as he offers me in my son ; but as a public one, he must expect nothing from me. Go, therefore, and tell him, in my name, that the best counsel I can give him, is to lay down his arms, and not reject any articles of peace which may be proposed to him. This is the best advice I could give him as a good and faithful friend."

Antiochus thought, that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions, had they conquered him ; and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where, hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to a sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, "Go," says he to the envoys, "and thank the king from me, and tell him, that at present, the only testimony I can give him of my gratitude is, to advise him not to fight till he hears of my being arrived in the camp." Perhaps Scipio thought, that a delay of some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately ; nevertheless, the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge, in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the river Phrygius, it is thought to be the Hermus, and posted himself near Magnesia, at the foot of mount Sipylus ; where he fortified his camp so strongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in sight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army consisted of 70,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 54 elephants. That of the Romans was composed, in the whole, of but 30,000 men, and 16 elephants. The consul, finding that the king lay still, summoned his council to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented, that as the winter was at hand, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field ; or, if they should go into winter quarters, to discontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never showed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion ; they all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately against the enemy ; to take the advantage of the ardour of the troops who were ready to force the palisades, and pass the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have diminished the glory of his success.

The next day, the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it, in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers, and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of 5400

men each, and two such bodies of Latin infantry. The Romans were posted in the centre, and the Latins in the two wings, the left of which extended towards the river. The first line of the centre was composed of pikemen,\* or hastati; the second of principes, and the third of triarii; these, properly speaking, composed the main body. On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted on the same line, 3000 Achaean infantry, and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, 3000 horse, 800 of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted, at the extremity of this wing, the light armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in this manner, because the rivers and banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart. Nevertheless, four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left 2000 Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The 16 elephants were posted behind the triarii, by way of corps de reserve, and as a rear guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number; but because the African elephants, all those in the Roman camp being of that country, were very much inferior, both in size and strength, to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms; 16,000 foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, and who composed the phalanx, formed also the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies, each of 50 men in front, by 32 deep; and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. It was this formed the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants inspired terror. Their size, which in itself was very remarkable, was increased by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embellished with gold, silver, purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of spoils, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, besides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx, was drawn up in a column, part of the cavalry, 1500 Asiatic Gauls, 3000 cuirassiers armed cap à pée, and 1000 horse, the flower of the Medes, and other neighbouring nations. A body of 16 elephants were posted next, in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment, composed of the Argyraspides, so called, from their arms being of silver. After them, 1200 Dahæ, all bowmen; to whom 2500 Mysians were joined. Then 3000 light armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by 4000 slingers and archers, half Cyrtians, and half Elymeans. The left wing was drawn up much after the same manner, except that before part of the cavalry, the chariots armed with scythes were posted, with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose thin swords, in order that the riders might reach down from the back of these beasts, were six feet long. The king commanded the right; Seleucus his son, and Antipater, his nephew, the left; and three lieutenant generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark, that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent; and the damp, occasioned by this fog, softened very much the bowstrings, the slings, and thongs or straps,† which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer near so

\* These are the names of the three different bodies of troops, of which the infantry of the Roman legions consisted.

† Amenta.

much, because they scarce used any but heavy arms, swords, and javelins ; and, as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the easier see one another.

The chariots, armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers, and horse, who discharge javelins ; commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in small platoons ; and to pour on them, from every quarter, darts, stones, and javelins ; shouting as loud as possible all the while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, run away with the chariots, scour the field on all sides, and turn against their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army ; for, the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broke and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless, even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry, vigorously charging the latter, it was not possible for them to stand the attack ; so that they were broke immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into disorder. And now, the Roman legions charged it advantageously ; the soldiers, who composed the phalanx, not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge amongst them, and prevented their fighting, whilst the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants, drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx, were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars of Africa, against those animals, had learned how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by hamstringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into disorder ; and the Romans were upon the point of surrounding the rear ranks, when advice was brought, that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as supposing it to be sufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces, and his heavy armed horse, not only in front, but in flank ; because that the four squadrons, being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Emilius, a military tribune, had staid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops, to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice, and ignominious flight. But this was not all ; for he commanded his soldiers to sheath their swords in all they met, who refused to face about against the enemy. This order, being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying, first halt, and afterwards return to the battle ; and now, Emilius, with his body of troops, which consisted of 2000 brave, well disciplined men, opposes the king, who was pursuing vigorously those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very season-

ably, with 200 horse. Antiochus, being now charged on every side, turned his horse, and retired. Thus, the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

\* It was observed, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx, was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body, the chief strength of his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well disciplined soldiers. To enable his phalanx to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up 32 deep, half of them were of no use; and filled up the rest of the front with new raised troops, without courage and experience, who, consequently, could not be depended on. However, this was the order in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle, as in the pursuit and the plunder of the camp, 50,000 foot, and 4000 horse; 1400 were taken prisoners, with 15 elephants, with their guides. The Romans lost but 300 foot, and 24 horse. Twenty five of Eumenes's troops were killed. By this victory, the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia Minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter, as he could assemble. From that city, he marched to Celenæ, in Phrygia, whither he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed mount Taurus with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal, nor Scipio Africanus, were in this battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians, in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

† The instant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he sent Antipater, his brother's son, and Xeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus, his brother, who was recovered. They applied themselves to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You have always," said he to them, "pardoned, with greatness of mind, the kings and nations you have conquered. How much more should you be induced to do this, after a victory, which gives you the empire of the universe? Henceforward, being become equal to the gods, lay aside all animosity against mortals, and make the good of the human race your sole study for the future."

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and, after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the other side, they were never too elate, from prosperity; that, therefore, they would not insist upon any other demands, than those they had made, before the battle; that Antiochus should evacuate all Asia, on this side mount Taurus; that he should pay all the expenses of the war, which were computed at 15,000 Eubean talents,† and the payments were settled

\* Appian.

† Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 45—49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 110—113.

‡ Fifteen thousand Attic talents amount to about two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Those of Eubœa, according to Budœus, were something less.

as follow ; 500 talents down ; 2500 when the senate should have ratified the treaty ; and the rest in twelve years, 1000 talents every year. That he should pay Eumenes the 400 talents he owed him, and the residue of a payment, on account of corn, with which the king of Pergamus, his father, had furnished the king of Syria ; and that he should deliver 20 hostages, to be chosen by the Romans. He added, " The Romans cannot persuade themselves, that a prince who gives Hannibal refuge, is sincerely desirous of peace. They therefore demand, that Hannibal be delivered up to them ; as also Thoas, the *Ætolian*, who was the chief agent in fomenting this war." All these conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome, with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of this negotiation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes, set out at the same time, for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after, the five hundred talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment ; and, to secure the other articles of the treaty. Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included in the hostages. He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negotiating, concluding that they should be sacrificed by it, they provided for their own safety, by retiring before it was concluded.

The *Ætolians* had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome, by a knavish artifice, unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been siezed and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true, and they declared impudently that it was so, they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace, rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

\* The Romans had just before raised M. Fulvius Nobilior, and Cn. Manlius Vulso, to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, *Ætolia* fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory, and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed by way of thanksgiving for three days.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to Eumenes, and afterwards to the ambassadors. At this audience, one of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Asia, was to be considered. It is well known that liberty, in general, is precious and dear to all men. But the Greeks, in particular, were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an estate of inheritance, which had devolved to them from their ancestors ; and as a peculiar privilege, that distinguished them from all other nations. And, indeed, the least attention to the Grecian history, will show, that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterprises and wars ; and, in a manner, the soul of their laws, customs, and whole frame of government. Philip and Alexander his son, gave the first blows to it, and their successors had exceedingly

\* A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 47—50. Ibid. n. 52—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.



abridged, and almost extirpated it. The Romans had, a little before, restored it to all the cities of Greece, after having reduced Philip king of Macedonia. The cities of Asia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the same indulgence. The Rhodians had sent ambassadors to Rome, principally to solicit that grace for the Greeks of Asia; and it was immediately the interest of king Eumenes to oppose it. This is the subject on which the senate are now to debate, and of which the decision held all Europe and Asia in suspense.

Eumenes being first admitted to audience, he opened his speech with a short compliment to the senate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in freeing himself and his brother, when besieged in Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom, by Antiochus; and in securing his kingdom against the unjust enterprises of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy success of their arms, both by sea and land; and on the famous victory they had just before gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as all Asia, situated on this side of mount Taurus. He added, that as to himself, and the service he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he chose rather to have those things related by their generals, than by himself. The modesty of his behaviour was universally applauded; but he was desired to specify the particulars, in which the senate and people of Rome could oblige him, and what he had to ask of them; assuring him, that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompense was proposed to him by others, and he were permitted to consult the senate, he then would be so free as to ask that venerable body, what answer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not insist upon immoderate and unreasonable demands; but that, as it was from the senate that he expected to be gratified in all he should require, he thought it most advisable to depend entirely on their generosity. He was again desired to explain himself clearly, and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest between politeness and respect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himself to be outdone, quitted the assembly. The senate still persisted in their first resolution; and the reason they gave for it was, that the king knew what it best suited his interest to ask. He therefore was brought in again, and obliged to explain himself.

He then made the following speech. "I should have still continued  
 " silent, did I not know that the Rhodian ambassadors, whom you will  
 " soon admit to audience, will make such demands as are directly contrary  
 " to my interest. They will plead, in your presence, the cause of all the  
 " Grecian cities of Asia, and pretend that they all ought to be declared  
 " free. Now, can it be doubted, that their intention in this is, to deprive  
 " me, not only of those cities which will be delivered, but even of such as  
 " were anciently my tributaries; and that their view is, by signal a service,  
 " to subject them effectually to themselves, under the specious title of con-  
 " federate cities. They will not fail to expatiate strongly on their own  
 " disinterestedness; and to say, that they do not speak for themselves, but  
 " merely for your glory and reputation. You, therefore, will certainly  
 " not suffer yourselves to be imposed upon by such discourse; and are far  
 " from designing, either to discover an affected inequality towards your  
 " allies, by humbling some, and raising others in an immoderate degree;  
 " or, to allow better conditions to those who carried arms against you, than  
 " to such as have always been your friends and allies. With regard to my  
 " particular pretensions, and my personal interest, these I can easily give  
 " up; but as to your kindness, and the marks of friendship with which

" you have been pleased to honour me, I must confess that I cannot, without  
 " pain, see others triumph over me in that particular. This is the most  
 " precious part of the inheritance I received from my father, who was the  
 " first potentate in all Greece and Asia, that had the advantage of concluding  
 " an alliance, and of joining in friendship with you ; and who cultivated it,  
 " with an inviolable constancy and fidelity, to his latest breath. He was  
 " far from confining himself, in those points, to mere protestations of kind-  
 " ness and good-will. In all the wars you made in Greece, whether by sea  
 " or land, he constantly followed your standards, and aided you with all his  
 " forces, with such a zeal as none of your allies can boast. It may even be  
 " said, that his attachment to your interest, in the last and strongest proof he  
 " gave of his fidelity, was the cause of his death ; for the fire and vigor with  
 " which he exhorted the Beotians to engage in alliance with you, occasioned  
 " the fatal accident, that brought him to his end in a few days. I always  
 " thought it my duty to tread in his steps, firmly persuaded, that nothing  
 " could be more honourable. It indeed was not possible for me to exceed  
 " him in zeal and attachment for your service ; but then, the posture of  
 " affairs, and the war against Antiochus, have furnished me more opportu-  
 " nities than my father had, of giving you proofs of this. That prince, who  
 " was very powerful in Europe, as well as Asia, offered me his daughter in  
 " marriage. He engaged himself to recover all those cities which had re-  
 " volted from me. He promised to add considerable countries to my domin-  
 " ions, upon condition that I should join with him against you. I will not  
 " assume any honour to myself, from not accepting offers which tended to  
 " alienate me from your friendship ; and, indeed, how would it have been  
 " possible for me to do this ? I will only take notice of what I thought my-  
 " self bound to do in your favour, as one who was your ancient friend and  
 " ally. I assisted your generals, both by sea and land, with a far greater  
 " number of troops, as well as a much larger quantity of provisions, than  
 " any of your allies. I was present in all your naval engagements, and  
 " these were many ; and have spared myself no toils nor dangers. I suf-  
 " fered the hardships of a siege, the most grievous condition of war, and was  
 " blocked up in Pergamus, exposed every moment to the loss of my crown,  
 " and life. Having disengaged myself from this siege, whilst Antiochus on  
 " one side, and Seleucus his son on the other, were still encamped in my  
 " dominions ; neglecting entirely my own interest, I sailed, with my whole  
 " fleet to the Hellespont, to meet Scipio, your consul, purposely to assist him  
 " in passing it. I never quitted the consul, from his arrival in Asia ; not a  
 " soldier in your camp has exerted himself more than my brother and myself.  
 " I have been present in every action, whether of foot or horse. In the last  
 " engagement, I defended the post which the consul assigned me. I will  
 " not ask whether, in this particular, any of your allies deserved to be com-  
 " pared with me. One thing I will be so confident as to assert, that I may  
 " put myself in parallel with any of those kings or states, on whom you have  
 " bestowed the highest marks of your favour. Masinissa had been your  
 " enemy before he became your ally. He did not come over to you with  
 " powerful aids, and, at a time when he enjoyed the full possession of his  
 " kingdom ; but an exile, driven from his kingdom ; plundered of all his  
 " possessions, and deprived of all his forces, he fled to your camp, with a  
 " squadron of horse, in order to seek an asylum, as well as aid in his mis-  
 " fortunes. Nevertheless, because he has since served you faithfully against  
 " Syphax and the Carthaginians, you have not only restored him to  
 " the throne of his ancestors ; but, by bestowing on him great part of  
 " Syphax's kingdom, you have made him one of the most powerful mon-

“ archs of Africa. What, therefore, may we not expect from your liberali-  
 “ ty ; we, who have ever been your allies, and never your enemies ? My  
 “ father, my brothers, and myself, have, on all occasions, drawn our swords  
 “ in your cause, both by sea and land ; not only in Asia, but at a great dis-  
 “ tance from our native country, in Peloponnesus, Beotia, and Ætolia,  
 “ during the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and the Ætolians. Perhaps  
 “ some one may ask, what are your pretensions ? Since you force me to  
 “ explain myself, they are as follows. If in repulsing Antiochus beyond  
 “ mount Taurus, your intention was to seize upon that country, in order to  
 “ unite it to your empire, I could not wish for better neighbours, none being  
 “ more able to secure my dominions. But if you are resolved to resign it,  
 “ and to recal your armies from thence, I dare presume to say, that none of  
 “ your allies deserve advantages from you, better than myself. But,  
 “ some may observe, it is great and glorious to deliver cities from slavery,  
 “ and to restore them their liberty. I grant it, provided they had never ex-  
 “ ercised hostilities against you. But then, if they have been so far attach-  
 “ ed to Antiochus’s interest, will it not be much more worthy of your wisdom  
 “ and justice, to bestow your favours on allies, who have served you faith-  
 “ fully, than on enemies, who have used their endeavours to destroy  
 “ you ?”

The senate was exceedingly pleased with the king’s harangue ; and showed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The person who spoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their amity with the Romans, and the services they had done them, first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that against Antiochus ; “ Nothing” says he, directing himself to the senators, “ grieves us so much at this time, as to  
 “ find ourselves obliged to engage in a dispute with Eumenes, that prince,  
 “ for whom, of all princes, both our republic and ourselves, have the most  
 “ faithful and most cordial respect. The circumstance which divides and  
 “ separates us on this occasion, does not proceed from a disparity of minds,  
 “ but from a difference of conditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a  
 “ king. It is natural that we, being a free people, should plead for the  
 “ liberty of others ; and that kings should endeavour to make all things  
 “ pay homage to their sovereign sway. However this be, the circum-  
 “ stance which perplexes us on this occasion, is, not so much the affair in  
 “ itself, which seems to be of such a nature, that you cannot be very  
 “ much divided in opinion about it, as the regard we ought to show to so  
 “ august a prince as Eumenes. If there was no other way of acknowl-  
 “ edging the important services of a king, your confederate and ally, but  
 “ in subjecting free cities to his power, you then might be doubtful ; from  
 “ the fear you might be under, either of not discovering gratitude enough  
 “ towards a prince who is your friend ; or of renouncing your principles,  
 “ and the glory you have acquired in the war against Philip, by restoring  
 “ all the Grecian cities to their liberty. But fortune has put you in such a  
 “ condition, as not to fear either of those inconveniences. The immortal  
 “ gods be praised, the victory you have so lately gained, by which you  
 “ acquire no less riches than glory, enables you to acquit yourselves easily  
 “ of what you call a debt. Lycæonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia, Cher-  
 “ sonesus, and the country contiguous to it, are subjected by you. One  
 “ of these provinces is alone capable of enlarging considerably the do-  
 “ minions of Eumenes ; but all of them together will equal him to the  
 “ most powerful kings. You therefore may, at one and the same time,

“ recompense very largely your allies, and not depart from the maxims  
 “ which form the glory of your empire. The same motive prompted you  
 “ to march against Philip and Antiochus. As the cause is the same, the  
 “ like issue is expected ; not only because you yourselves have already  
 “ set the example, but because your honour requires it. Others engage in  
 “ war, merely to dispossess their neighbours of some country, some city,  
 “ fortress, or seaport ; but you, O Romans, never draw the sword from  
 “ such motives ; when you fight, it is for glory ; and it is this circum-  
 “ stance inspires all nations with a reverence and awe for your name and  
 “ empire, almost equal to that which is paid the gods. The business is  
 “ to preserve that glory. You have undertaken to rescue, from the bon-  
 “ dage of kings, and to restore to its ancient liberty, a nation famous for  
 “ its antiquity ; and still more renowned for its glorious actions, and its  
 “ exquisite taste for the polite arts and sciences. It is the whole nation  
 “ you have taken under your protection, and you have promised it them,  
 “ to the end of time. The cities, situated in Greece itself, are not more  
 “ Grecian than the colonies they settled in Asia. A change of country has  
 “ not wrought any alteration in our origin or manners. All the Greek  
 “ cities in Asia have endeavoured to rival our ancestors and founders, in virtue  
 “ and in knowledge. Many persons in this assembly have seen the cities  
 “ of Greece, and those of Asia. The only difference is, that we are  
 “ situated at a farther distance from Rome. If a difference in climate  
 “ should change the nature and disposition of men, the inhabitants of  
 “ Marseilles, surrounded as they are with ignorant and barbarous nations,  
 “ should necessarily have long since degenerated ; and yet, we are in-  
 “ formed, that you have as great a regard for them, as if they lived in the  
 “ centre of Greece. And indeed, they have retained, not only the sound  
 “ of the language, the dress, and the whole exterior of the Greeks ; but  
 “ have also preserved, still more, their manners, laws, and genius, and  
 “ all these pure, and uncorrupted by their correspondence with the neigh-  
 “ bouring nations. Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your empire.  
 “ Every country on this side of it, ought not to appear remote from you.  
 “ Wherever you have carried your arms, convey thither, also, the genius  
 “ and form of your government. Let the barbarians, who are accustomed  
 “ to slavery, continue under the empire of kings, since it is grateful to  
 “ them. The Greeks, in the mediocrity of their present condition, think  
 “ it glorious to imitate your exalted sentiments. Born and nurtured in  
 “ liberty, they know you will not deem it a crime in them to be jealous of  
 “ it, as you yourselves are so. Formerly, their own strength was sufficient  
 “ to secure empire to them ; but now, they implore the gods that it may  
 “ be enjoyed for ever by those people, with whom they have placed it.  
 “ All they desire is, that you would be pleased to protect, by the power of  
 “ your arms, their liberties, as they are now no longer able to defend them  
 “ by their own. But, says somebody, some of those cities have favoured  
 “ Antiochus. Had not the others favoured Philip also ; and the Taren-  
 “ tines, Pyrrhus ? To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as well  
 “ as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Consider, O Romans, the en-  
 “ gagements which this example lays you under. Will you indulge to Eu-  
 “ menes’s ambition, I beg his pardon for the expression, what you refused  
 “ to your own just indignation ? As for us Rhodians, in this, as well as in  
 “ all the wars which you have carried on in our countries, we have en-  
 “ deavoured to behave as good and faithful allies ; and you are to judge  
 “ whether we have really been such. Now we enjoy peace, we are so  
 “ free as to give you a counsel, which must necessarily be glorious to you.

"If you follow it, it will demonstrate to the universe, that however nobly you obtain victories, you yet know how to make a nobler use of them."

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The senate found itself, on this occasion, divided and opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose importance and justice they were sensible; but which, at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile on this occasion. On one side, gratitude, with regard to the services of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on their minds; on the other, they earnestly wished to have it thought, that the sole view of their undertaking this war, was to restore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after Philip's defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then, it would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as Eumenes; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other kings to their side, by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wisdom of the senate knew how to conciliate these different duties.

Antiochus's ambassadors were brought in after those of Rhodes, and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire; and, accordingly, some days after, it also was ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatic cities were likewise heard; and the answer made them was, that the senate would dispatch, pursuant to their usual custom, ten commissioners, to inquire into, and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should thenceforward be subject to king Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the possession of Lycia, and that part of Caria, which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted, as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was enacted, that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this new regulation. The latter requested, as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting Antiochus's ambassadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request; because Soles, as situated beyond mount Taurus, was not included in the treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, returning the most hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchsafed them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at sea, over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet; and, still more justly, to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the

aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures; for, it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that Pliny\* dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republic of Rome, and the fatal changes which ensued it. Asia,† vanquished by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquished Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguished, in that city, a love for the ancient poverty and simplicity, in which its strength and honour had consisted. ‡ Luxury, that in a manner entered Rome in triumph, with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with her, in her train, irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havoc in the cities, than the mightiest armies could have done; and, in that manner, avenged the conquered globe.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE ROMANS, WITH REGARD TO THE GRECIAN STATES, AND THE KINGS, BOTH OF EUROPE AND ASIA.

THE reader begins to discover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe, I mean, a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent; it reveals itself only by degrees; and it is but by insensible progressions, which at the same time are rapid enough, that we see it carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people on certain occasions, show such a moderation and disinterestedness, as, to consider them only from their outside, exceed every thing we meet with in history, and to which it seems inconsistent to refuse praise. Was there ever a more delightful or a more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war; after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures; caused a herald to proclaim, in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty; and desired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose ancient glory sufficed, to endear them to the Romans? The description of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceeded merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans been of the same nature with such

\* Plin. l. xiii. c. 3.

† Armis vicit, vitiis victus est. Senec. de Alex.

‡ Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores

Intulit, et turpi fregerunt secula luxu

Divitiæ molles——

Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo

Paupertas Romana perit——

Sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Juven. l. ii. Satyr. vi.

exalted sentiments ; nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But, if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive that this specious moderation of the Romans, was entirely founded upon a profound policy ; wise, indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but, at the same time, very remote from that noble disinterestedness, so highly extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy ; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers ; I mean the Grecian republics, and Macedonia, and they were always engaged in war ; the former, to preserve the remains of their ancient liberty ; and the latter, to complete their subjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible, that they needed not be under any apprehensions from those little republics, which were grown weak through length of years, by intestine feuds, mutual jealousies, and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war, which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs ; which had formerly extended its conquests to the extremities of the globe ; which still harboured an ardent, though chimerical desire of attaining universal empire ; and, which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, sprung from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy ; Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which from the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles left with regard to their ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearest to Italy.

To balance, therefore, the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aids he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans : in this view, I say, this latter people declared loudly in favour of those republics ; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors ; and further to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait, as a reward for their fidelity, I mean liberty, of which all the republics in question were inexpressibly jealous, and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and swallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no further. But the most judicious and most clear sighted among them, discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait ; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time, in their public assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the west ; and which, changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable, than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost moderation towards such states and nations as addressed them for protection ; they succoured them against their enemies ; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all troubles which arose amongst them ; and did not demand the least recompense for all these services done them

allies. By this means their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

And, indeed, upon pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of reconciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty ; and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freedmen. They used to depute commissioners to them, to inquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels. But when the articles were of such a nature, that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. But afterwards, they used to summon those who refused to be reconciled ; obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators, being become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance. Thus there arose, in the Roman senate, a tribunal, which judged all nations and kings, from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories, in order to bestow them on their allies, by which they did two things from which they reaped a double advantage ; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome, such kings as were no ways formidable to them ; and weakened others whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republic of the Achæans, inveigh strongly, in a public assembly, against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans are empowered to assume so haughty an ascendant over them ; whether their republic was not as free and independent as that of Rome ; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct ; whether they would be pleased should the Achæans, in their turn, officiously pretend to inquire into their affairs ; and, whether matters ought not to be on the same footing on both sides ? All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable ; and the Romans had no advantage in the question, but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politics were the same, with regard to their treatment of kings. They first won over to their interest : such among them as were the weakest, and consequently the least formidable. They gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered, in some measure, sacred and inviolable ; and was a kind of safeguard against other kings, more powerful than themselves ; they increased their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection. It was this raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so exalted a pitch of grandeur.

After this, the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, those great potentates, who divided Europe and Asia. And, how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered ! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle, by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it. How imperious was this ! But then, how did they treat vanquished kings ? They commanded them to deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour ; oblige them to lay down their arms ; forbid them to declare war, or conclude any alliance, without first obtaining their leave ; banish them to the other side of mountains ; and leave them, in



strictness of speech, only an empty title, and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of all its rights and advantages.

We are not to doubt, but that Providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, and the scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur. But they were strangers to those divine oracles ; and, besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification with regard to them. Although it be difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people had, from their first rise, formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations ; it cannot be denied, but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear, that they acted as if they had a foreknowledge of this ; and that a kind of instinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we see, by the event, to what this so much boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations ; having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy ; looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped, with insatiable ambition, the conquest of the whole world. They seized, indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations. In a word, they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects but those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

## SECTION VIII.

ÆTOLIANS AND ASIATIC GAULS SUBDUED BY FULVIUS AND MANLIUS.—DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS, AND DANIEL'S PROPHECY.

\* DURING the expedition of the Romans in Asia, some commotions had happened in Greece. Amynder, by the aid of the Ætoliars, was restored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons, that held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome ; and others into Asia, to the two Scipios, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having employed the arms of the Ætoliars against Philip, and also to make his complaints of that prince.

The Ætoliars had, likewise, undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success ; but, when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, were returning from thence, without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius, the consul, was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to entreaties ; and, in order to enforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were going to send to Rome, in order to sue for peace.

The consul being arrived in Greece, he, in conjunction with the Epirots, had laid siege to Ambracia, in which was a strong garrison of Ætoliars, who had made a vigorous defence. However, being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them, being judged exceedingly severe, the ambassadors, notwithstanding their full

\* A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 1—11. Polyb. in Excerpt. Lcg. c. 26—28.

powers, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more ; but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back, with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were come to him, to whom Amynder had also repaired. The latter, having great credit in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years of his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves, at last, to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follows : they should first deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans ; should pay them 1000 talents of silver, about 150,000 pounds, half to be paid down directly ; should restore to both the Romans and their allies, all the deserters and prisoners ; should look upon, as their enemies and friends, all those who were such to the Romans ; in fine, should give up 40 hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors being arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, they found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them, by Philip in his letters written on that head. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes, who concurred in them ; and, therefore, they ratified the treaty, conformably to the conditions which the consul had prescribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay, in gold, the sum imposed on them, in such a manner, that every piece of gold should be estimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of silver, of the same weight, which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

\* Fulvius, the consul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephallenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, were sorry for what they had done ; and, accordingly, shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, insomuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general assembly of the Achæans had, from time immemorial, been held at Ægium. But Philopœmen, who then was an officer of state, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league ; and, that very year he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion ; and, though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just ; yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly, without declaring his opinion.

† But the affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and, at the same time, of greater importance. Those, who had been banished from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of those towns, called Las, and carried it, but were soon after driven out of it. This enterprise alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who, at

\* Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 28—30.

† Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 30—34.

that time, was in employment, secretly favoured the exiles; and endeavoured, on all occasions, to lessen the credit and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and castles of the sea coast of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbid the Lacedæmonians access to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants; the Achæan assembly demanded, that the contrivers of that massacre should be delivered up to them; and, that otherwise, they should be declared violators of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand, made in so haughty a tone, exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of those who had held a correspondence with Philopœmen; and the exiles; dissolved their alliance with the Achæans, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius, the consul, who was then in Cephallenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to entreat him to come and take possession of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been transacted in Sparta, they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incursions, both by sea and land; the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.

The consul, being arrived in Peloponnesus, heard both parties in a public assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any determination, the first thing he did, was, to command them to lay down their arms, and to send their respective ambassadors to Rome; and, accordingly, they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Achæans was in great consideration at Rome; but, at the same time, the Romans did not care to disgust the Lacedæmonians entirely. The senate, therefore, returned an obscure and ambiguous answer, which has not come down to us, whereby the Achæans might flatter themselves, that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta; and, the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta, without loss of time; and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him, who had concerted the enterprise against the town of Las; declaring, that they should not be condemned, or punished, till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been nominated expressly set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather, as that of the public. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly surprised to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an insulting air, and began to vent the most injurious expressions against them; after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominiously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claimed the right of nations; the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate. Seventeen were immediately stoned to death, and seventy-three rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it said, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that

enraged multitude, who, almost without so much as hearing them, condemned, and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so unjust, so cruel a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans imposed the same conditions upon them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders that the walls should be demolished; that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their service, should leave Laconia; that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty, and there were a great number of them, should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achæans, and sold or carried wheresoever they thought proper; that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled. In fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achæan league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedæmonians were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls; with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them; and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. \* Sparta had long subsisted without any other walls or defence but the bravery of its citizens. † Pausanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be built ‡ in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates also that the tyrants, for their own security, had fortified with walls, all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of these walls. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, who had caused its destruction, returning into it, and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigor, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to the Achæans. || The most fatal circumstance with regard to Sparta, was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force seven hundred years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta, does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary, seems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must indeed be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but, so open a violation of the law of nations, to which Philopœmen gave at least occasion, if he did not consent to it, cannot be excused in any manner.

\* Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque objecerant murum; altiora loca et difficiliora aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento objectis tutabantur. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 38.

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum et veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffusi, murorum præsidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse a majoribus, ut cum multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterant. Justin. l. xiv. c. 5.

† In Achaïac. p. 412.

‡ Justin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls, at the time that Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.

|| Nulla res tanto erat damno, quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata. Liv.

\* It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjust and cruel action, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. At last, † Lepidus the consul wrote a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. However, Philopœmen and the Achæans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to justify their conduct.

‡ In the same campaign, and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere, of the inroad those nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia under Brennus. The Gauls in question had settled in that part of Asia Minor, called, from their name, Gallo Grecia, or Galatia; and formed three bodies, three different states, the Tolistobogi, the Trocmi, and Tectosages. These had made themselves formidable to all the nations round, and spread terror and alarms on all sides. The pretence made use of for declaring war against them, was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great service to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposition. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am no ways surprised," says he, "that the Gauls should have made their names formidable to, and spread the strongest terror in the minds of nations, of so soft and effeminate a cast as the Asiatics. Their tall stature, their fair flowing hair, which descends to their waists; their unwieldy bucklers, their long swords; add to this, their songs, their cries, and howlings, at the first onset; the dreadful clashing of their arms and shields; all this may, indeed, intimidate men not accustomed to them; but not you, O Romans, whose victorious arms have so often triumphed over that nation. Besides, experience has taught you, that after the Gauls have spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance blunts the edge of their courage, as well as their bodily strength; and that then, quite incapable of supporting the heat of the sun, fatigue, dust, and thirst, their arms fall from their hands, and they sink down, quite tired and exhausted. Do not imagine these, the ancient Gauls, inured to fatigues and dangers. The luxurious plenty of the country they have invaded, the soft temperature of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and delicacy of the people among whom they inhabit, have entirely enervated them. They now are no more than Phrygians, in Gallic armour; and the only circumstance I fear is, that you will not reap much honour by the defeat of a rabble of enemies, so unworthy of disputing victory with Romans."

It was a general opinion, with regard to the ancient Gauls, that a sure way to conquer them, was, to let them exhaust their first fire, which immediately was deadened by opposition; and that, when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had lost all strength and vigor; that their

\* Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii.

† A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187.

‡ Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 12—27. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 29—35.

bodies were even incapable of sustaining the slightest fatigues long, or of withstanding the sunbeams, when they darted with ever so little violence ; that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were less than women at the conclusion of it. \* *Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit ; Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque ætus fluere ; primaque eorum prælia plus quam virorum, postrema minus quam faminarum esse.*

Those who are not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertain very near the same idea of them. However, the late transactions in Italy, and especially on the Rhine, must have undeceived them in that particular. Though I am very much prejudiced in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I question whether they ever discovered greater patience, resolution, and bravery, than the French did at the siege of Philipsburgh. I do not speak merely of the generals and officers ; courage being natural to, and, in a manner, inherent in them ; but, even the common soldiers showed such an ardour, intrepidity, and greatness of soul, as amazed the generals. The sight of an army, formidable by its numbers, and still more so, by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, served only to animate them the more. During the whole course of this long and laborious siege, in which they suffered so much by the fire of the besieged, and the heat of the sun ; by the violence of the rains, and inundations of the Rhine ; they never once breathed the least murmur or complaint. They were seen wading through great floods, where they were up to the shoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads ; and, afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches, full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy ; and then, advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack, demanding, with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind ; and, to dread no other circumstance, but their being denied the opportunity of signalizing their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery, and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen ; otherwise, they could not have roused at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been, in a manner, asleep, during a twenty years peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable, in a Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

#### THE KING'S LETTER TO THE MARSHAL D'ASFELDT.

"COUSIN,

"I am entirely sensible of the important service you have done me in taking Philipsburgh. Nothing less than your courage and resolution could have surmounted the obstacles to that enterprise, occasioned by the inundations of the Rhine. You have had the satisfaction to see your example inspire the officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. I caused an account to be sent me daily, of all the transactions of that siege, and always

observed, that the ardour and patience of my troops increased, in proportion to the difficulties that arose, either from the swelling of the floods, the presence of the enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of success may be expected from so valiant a nation; and I enjoin you to inform the general officers, and others, and even the whole army, that I am highly satisfied with them. You need not doubt my having the same sentiments with regard to you; to assure you of which is the sole motive of this letter; and, cousin, I beseech the Almighty to have you in his keeping, and direct you.

*"Versailles, July 23, 1734."*

I now return to the history. After Manlius had ended the speech repeated above, the army discovered, by their shouts, how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once suspect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them; and therefore, were not prepared to oppose them. But, notwithstanding this, they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles; disputed the passes with him; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. However, the consul, so far from being discouraged, followed and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. I shall not descend to particulars, which were of little importance, and consequently, would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged, at last, to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under, from those barbarians, who hitherto had done nothing but harass and plunder their neighbours. So happy a tranquillity was restored on this side, that the empire of the Romans was established there, from the river Halys to mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia Minor. \* We are told that Antiochus † said on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed him from the cares and troubles, which the government of so vast an extent of country must necessarily have brought upon him.

‡ Fulvius, one of the consuls, returned to Rome, in order to preside in the assembly. The consulate was given to M. Valerius Messala, and C. Livius Salinator. The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himself, and Manlius, his colleague, were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls.

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle, with the ten commissioners who had been appointed by the senate, the most important articles of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans 600 talents, 600,000 crowns, for having assisted Antiochus; however, half this sum was accepted, at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes, of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He re-passed into

\* Cic. Orat. pro. Dejot. n. xxxvi. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

† Antiochus magnus; dicere est solitus, benigne sibi a populo Romano esse ac tum, quod nimis magna procuracione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur. Cic.

‡ A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 188. Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 35.

Europe, with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled the chief difficulties.

\* Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raise the sum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him ; and left the regency of Syria, during his absence, to Seleucus, his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed, that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a strong temptation to a prince, who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple, in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there, very religiously, during a long series of years. However, the people, exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him, and murdered him, with all his followers. † Aurelius Victor says, that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beat, one day, when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praise, for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of fifty, he had behaved, on all occasions, with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprises, and acquired him the title of the Great. But, from that time, his wisdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans ; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather contempt for the wise counsels of Hannibal ; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept ; these circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes ; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprise, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the tenth to the nineteenth verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

† “ But his sons,” of the king of the north, “ shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces ; and one,” Antiochus the Great, “ shall certainly come and overflow, and pass through ; then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress.” || This king of the north was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus, his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopater, king of the south, that is, of Egypt ; dispossessed him of Celosyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province ; defeated Ptolemy’s generals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. “ He,” meaning Antiochus, “ shall come. He shall overflow the” enemy’s country. “ He shall pass over” mount Libanus. “ He shall halt,” whilst overtures of peace are making him. “ He shall

\* A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 298. Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan. c. xi.

† De viris illust. c. 54.

‡ Ver. 10.

|| See Ver. 8.



"advance with ardour as far as the fortresses," that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

\* "And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand." Ptolemy Philopater was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take arms, and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country; *provocatus*. At last, he put himself at the head of his troops, and by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Rhabia.

† "And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it." Antiochus lost upwards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. Philopater, having marched, after his victory, to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt to enter the sanctuary; "his heart shall be lifted up;" and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Celsyria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses; "but he shall not be strengthened by it."

‡ "For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches." Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopater, his father; he united with Philip, king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas, at Panium, near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopater had conquered, by the victory he gained at Rhabia.

§ "And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south." This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria, against the infant monarch of Egypt; by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and life. ¶ Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall." Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him; but it was not long-lived; for, when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he either extirpated, or drove out of the country, all the partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophecy, which denounced the calamities that Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to fall into apostasy.

¶ "So the king of the north will come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities, and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither

\* Ver. 11.

† Ver. 12.

‡ Ver. 13.

§ Ver. 14.

¶ The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

¶ Ver. 15.

"his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. \* But "he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which, "by his hand, shall be consumed." Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, besieged and took, first Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which the king of Egypt had sent against him. "He did according to his own will," in Cœlosyria and Palestine, and nothing was able to make the least resistance against him. Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judea, "that glorious," or, according to the Hebrew, "that desirable land." He there established his authority, and strengthened it by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison being so well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all his troops, in order to force it; and the siege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and "consumed" by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

† "He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him. Thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him." Antiochus, seeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to "corrupt her," and excite her to betray her husband. But he was not successful in his design; for, as soon as she was married to Ptolemy, she renounced her father's interest, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account, that we see her† join with him in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

§ "After this, shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many. "But a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach which Antiochus had offered him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him." Antiochus, having put an end to the war of Cœlosyria and Palestine, sent his two sons, at the head of the land army, to Sardis, while he himself embarked on board the fleet and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, "the prince" of the people, whom he had insulted by making this invasion, that is, L. Scipio, the Roman consul, "caused the reproach to turn upon him," by defeating him at mount Sipilus, and repulsing him from every part of Asia Minor.

§ "Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but "he shall stumble and fall, and not be found." Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the east, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but, having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel, relating to Antiochus, which I have explained, in most places, according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and are variously interpreted by commentators; but, is it possible for the

\* Ver. 16.

† Ver. 17.

‡ Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatra, legibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græciæ expulisset, venerunt. Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 3.

|| Ver. 18.

§ Ver. 19.

substance of the prophecy to appear obscure and doubtful? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and sagacity? Can any light, but which proceeds from God himself, penetrate, in this manner, into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and, accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from his great actions; and, accordingly, our prophet gives a transient account of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprises, and even the manner of his death. In it, we see his expeditions into Cœlosyria and Phenicia, several cities of which are besieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops make in it; his conquests of a great many islands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman consul; his retreat to Antioch; and, lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the outlines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed that the prophet drew those features without design, and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts, which denote the accomplishment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in question, and whose fidelity cannot be suspected in any manner. We must renounce, not only religion, but reason, to refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a Supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

## SECTION IX.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR SUCCEEDS ANTIOCHUS.—COMPLAINTS AGAINST PHILIP.

\* **ANTIOCHUS** the Great dying, Seleucus Philopator, his eldest son, whom he had left in Antioch when he set out for the eastern provinces, succeeded him. But his reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant sum, 1000 talents† annually, he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father, and that people.

‡ Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time, reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy; and accordingly sent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, they entered into discourse concerning that prince. In the praise the ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chase, his address in riding, and his vigor and activity in the exercise

\* A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

† About one hundred and ninety thousand pounds.

‡ Polyb. in Leg. c. xxxvii.

of his arms ; and, to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, being on horseback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the discharge of a single javelin.

The same year Antiochus died, Cleopatra, his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometer. \* The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Coelosyria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries, went to Alexandria upon that occasion, with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him, " Do but behold, sir, the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, and your majesty may judge in what a manner his father gnaws your provinces." These words made the king laugh ; and he asked Hyrcanus how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. " Your majesty need not wonder at that," replied he ; " for dogs eat both flesh and bones, as you see the rest of the persons at your table have done," pointing to them ; " but men are contented to eat the flesh, and leave the bones, like me." The mockers were mocked, by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out, that he had only five talents,† to present, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed twenty talents.‡ But Hyrcanus presented to the king an hundred boys, well shaped and finely dressed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering ; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like present for that princess. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surpassing magnificence ; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

|| Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause ; because he followed, in all things, the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him ; but, afterwards, the flattery of courtiers, that deadly poison to kings, prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. That prince shunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took of advising him to act more consistently with himself, he dispatched him by poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations ; plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind ; followed no other guides in the administration of affairs, but his wild passions ; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, growing at last quite weary of the oppressions and in-

\* Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

† About seven hundred and fifty pounds.

‡ About three thousand pounds.

|| J. A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.

justice, to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality, having engaged in this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

\* To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery, as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs, both of peace and war; for he had risen to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion, conducted very much to the preservation of the state.

† Ptolemy, by the assistance of this prime minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions; but, having seized their persons, he forfeited his promise; and after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking of, seems to have been very powerful, and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This, he was also very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and, accordingly offered that republic 6000 shields, and 200 talents of brass. His offer was accepted; and, in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans, were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance, and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. ‡ King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered 120 talents, about 21,000 pounds sterling, the interest of which to be applied for the support of the members of the public council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war, completely equipped; and, at the same time, desired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador, whom Philopœmen had sent to Rome, to justify his conduct, was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it, was Nicodemus of Elca. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta; with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but, at the same time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And, as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no further mention was made of it at that time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

\* Polyb in Excerpt. p. 113.

† A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183.

‡ A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186. Polyb. in Legat. c. 14. p. 850—852.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and, proposed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always showed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Appollonius, of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republic could not accept of this present, without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. "For, in a word," continued he, "as the law forbids every individual, whether of the people or of the magistrates, to receive any gift from a king, upon any pretence whatsoever, the crime would be much greater, should the commonwealth, collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers. That, with regard to the infamy, it was self evident; for," says Appollonius, "what could reflect greater ignominy in a council, than to receive, annually, from a king, money for its subsistence; and, to assemble, in order to deliberate on public affairs, only as so many of his pensioners, and, in a manner, rising from his table, after having swallowed the bait\* that concealed the hook? But, what dreadful consequences might not be expected from such a custom, should it be established? That afterwards Prusias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would also be liberal of his benefactions, and, after him, Seleucus; that, as the interest of kings differed widely from those of republics; and as, in the latter, their most important deliberations related to their differences with crowned heads, two things would inevitably happen; either the Achæans would transact all things to the advantage of those princes, and to the prejudice of their own country; or else they must behave with the blackest ingratitude towards their benefactors." He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the present which was offered; and added, "that it was their duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for attempting to bribe their fidelity by such an offer." The whole assembly with shouts rejected unanimously the proposal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas, and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince, for renewing the alliance, was read. Aristenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew, several having been concluded with Ptolemy, upon very different conditions, and nobody being able to answer that question, the decision of that affair was referred to another time.

At last, the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

† Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints

\* Polybius, by this expression, would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook; that is, the design which Eumenes had of making all those, who composed the council, his dependants.—*Κατασκευαστὴς οἰονεὶ δέλεον.*

were carried from all quarters, to Rome, against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of those affairs upon the spot.

\* Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, because, by the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him, during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynder, the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly, which the Ætolians had siezed; by leaving him the possession of Demetrias, and all Magnesia; and, by not opposing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumstances had somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome, having been listened to there, revived all his former disgusts.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe, in Thessaly, an assembly was called there, to which came, on one side, the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhebiens, and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip, king of Macedon; a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors explained their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him, in favour of their liberty, entreated him to act in regard to them, rather as a friend than a master; and, to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies, rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors, being less reserved, and not so moderate, reproached him to his face, for his injustice, oppression, and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of the Grecians, inhabiting the countries near Macedonia, to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual; that this prince, † like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained, without a very tight rein, and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser, rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said that, like slaves, ‡ who being made free on a sudden, contrary to all expectation, break into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors; so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long servitude, to make a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I shall omit, as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper, at that time, to pronounce definitely upon their respective demands.

\* Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23—29.

† Ut equum sternacem non parentem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse Liv.

‡ Insolenter et immodice abuti Thessalos, indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diutina siti nimis avide meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo præter spem repente manumissorum, licentiam vocis et linguæ experiri, et jactare sese insectatione et conviciis dominorum. Liv.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace ; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it ; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus ; in that case, the service which Eumenes, and Attalus his father, had done Rome, seemed to require, that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force ; that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commissioners, whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before ; and, directing himself personally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them ; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions ; and, the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse 3000 talents, \* 50 ships of war, completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom it was too great a condescension to compare himself ; and, that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. " You, O Romans," says he, concluding his speech, " are to consider upon what footing you intend to have me be with you. If you are determined to treat me as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in that case, you need only use me as you have hitherto done. But, if you still revere in my person, the title and quality of king, ally, and friend, spare me, I beseech you, the shame of being treated any longer with so much indignity."

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason, they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspense, by making no decisive answer ; and accordingly, they declared, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were, in that case, it was not in their power to reverse it in any manner ; that, if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them ; that, if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judgment of the senate ; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, so far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

\* About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.



\* The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius, coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, showed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to speak with the utmost vigor, in defence of the republic. They showed, that the whole transaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that had it been otherwise, human laws as well as the reverence due to the gods, must have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with that discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this, the magistrates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly, that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador, and before him, Marcus Fulvius, would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest; and, indeed, they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly, were greatly suspected by the populace.

† Cecilius at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said, in presence of Cecilius, in Thessalonica. The senate after admitting them to audience, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine, on the spot, whether he was withdrawn, as he had promised Cecilius, from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him, at the same time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the seacoast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience, Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent, to give the reasons why they had not made their answers to Cecilius; and, to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who had deputed to Rome, Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see, that notwithstanding the precious

\* Polyb. in Leg. c. xli. p. 853, 854.

† A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Polyb. in Leg. c. 42. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 38.

and recent obligation to their favour, they had, however, charged themselves with the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable blessing of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence, than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done; and, they likewise cleared themselves, for their having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and Alcibiades represented, in the most affecting manner, the sad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; its walls were demolished; its \*citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a state of captivity; the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, had been entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to inquire into this affair, as were nominated to inspect those of Macedon; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it; as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they asked it.

† When Philip was informed, by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmost violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip, having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded, that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been concerned, in any manner, in that massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some," says he, "declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, a great quarrel arose, and they butchered one another." He went so far, as to challenge them to produce any person, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans, was too far off. "It is to no purpose," says Appius to him, "for you to apologize for yourself; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them." These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety. However, matters were not carried further at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately, Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate, on the affair in question; declaring that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered with-

\* By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that such slaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, should leave the city, and all Laconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to seize and sell them as slaves; which had accordingly been executed.

† Polyb. in Leg. c. 44. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

in himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre; but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who, he declared, so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was, Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he had reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon reflecting in his own mind, and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against that people; but, not being prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years an hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified, either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate; or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince, his son, on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of entering into war against the Romans. And accordingly he defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and took prisoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

\* The arrival of the Roman commissioners was expected in Peloponnesus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedemonians was examined. He represented to the assembly, such things as they might fear from them; the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however, been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had driven them from their country, when it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for, seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die,

arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed, that the inquiry which was going to be made, would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedemonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing which had been done on that occasion; the murder of those, who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish, for several ages.

Lycortas, as president of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedemonia, undertook to answer Appius. He showed first, that as the Lacedemonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbid them to make any attempt against the maritime cities; these exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly accused, for having assisted them to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity. That, with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accused for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those whom they supposed had been the authors of their banishment, and to whom the rest of the calamities they had suffered were owing. "However," added Lycortas, "it is pretended that we cannot but own, that we were the cause of the abolition of Lycurgus's laws, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. This, indeed, is a real fact; but then, how can this double objection be made to us at the same time? The walls in question were not built by Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected them some few years ago, not for the security of the city, but for their own safety; and, to enable themselves to abolish, with impunity, the discipline and regulation so happily established by that wise legislator. Were it possible for him to rise now from the grave, he would be overjoyed to see those walls destroyed, and say, that he now knows and owns his native country and ancient Sparta. You should not, O citizens of Sparta, have waited for Philopœmen or the Achæans; but ought, yourselves, to have pulled down those walls with your own hands, and destroyed even the slightest trace of tyranny. These were a kind of ignominious scars of your slavery; and, after having maintained your liberties and privileges, during almost eight hundred years, and been for some time the sovereigns of Greece, without the support and assistance of walls; they, within these hundred years, have become the instruments of your slavery, and, in a manner, your shackles and fetters. With respect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were suppressed by the tyrants; and we have only substituted our own, by putting you upon a level with us in all things."

Addressing himself afterwards to Appius, "I cannot forbear owning," says he, "that the words I have hitherto spoken, were not as from one ally to another; nor of a free nation, but as slaves who speak to their master. For, in fine, if the voice of the herald, who proclaimed us to be free, in the front of the Grecian states, was not a vain and empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that time be real and solid; if you are desirous of sincerely preserving an alliance and friendship with us; on what can that infinite disparity, which you suppose to be between you Romans, and we Achæans, be grounded? I do not inquire

"into the treatment which Capua met with, after you had taken that city ;  
 "why, then, do you examine into our usage of the Lacedemonians, after  
 "we had conquered them ? Some of them were killed ; and I will suppose  
 "that it was by us. But, did you not strike off the heads of several  
 "Campanian senators ? We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground ;  
 "but, as for you, Romans, you not only dispossessed the Campanians of their  
 "walls, but of their city and lands. To this, I know you will reply,  
 "that the equality expressed in the treaties between the Romans and  
 "Achæans, is merely specious, and a bare form of words ; that we really  
 "have but a precarious and derivative liberty ; but, that the Romans are  
 "possessed of authority and empire. This, Appias, I am but too sensible  
 "of. However, since we must be forced to submit to this, I entreat  
 "you, at least, how wide a difference soever you may set between yourselves  
 "and us, not to put your enemies and our own upon a level with  
 "us, who are your allies ; especially, not to show them better treatment.  
 "They require us, by forswearing ourselves, to dissolve and annul all we  
 "have enacted by oath ; and, to revoke that, which, by being written in  
 "our records, and engraved on marble, in order to preserve the remembrance  
 "of it eternally, is become a sacred monument, which it is not  
 "lawful for us to violate. We revere you, O Romans ; and, if you will  
 "have it so, we also fear you ; but then, we think it glorious to have a  
 "greater reverence and fear for the immortal gods."

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoken like a true magistrate ; it was, therefore, necessary for the Romans to act with vigor, or resolve to lose their authority. Appias, without descending to particulars, advised them, whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at these words ; but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired, was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased, with regard to Sparta ; but not oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

\* The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans, should be recalled and restored ; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. † Pausanias adds an article, not taken notice of by Livy ; that the walls, which had been demolished, should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commissary, to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbances subsisted, especially, between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedemonians on the other. ‡ They had all sent ambassadors to Rome ; but, it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedemonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty ; or, at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was answered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans,

\* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48. † In Achaic. p. 414. ‡ Polyb. in Leg. c. 51.

the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes ; for, that this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans ; which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous ; and who covered their ambitious designs, with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

## SECTION X.

PHILOPÆMEN BESIEGES MESSENE.—HE IS TAKEN PRISONER, AND PUT TO DEATH.—PTOLEMY EPIPHANES DIES.

\* DINOCRATES, the Messenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopæmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league, and was meditating how he might best seize upon a considerable post, called Corone, near that city. Philopæmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out, notwithstanding his indisposition ; made a countermarch, and advanced towards Messene, with a small body of forces, consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight ; but, five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about, and routed Philopæmen. This general, who was solicitous of nothing but to save the gallant youths, who had followed him in this expedition, performed the most extraordinary acts of bravery ; but, happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in his head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopæmen, as the punishment for some rash and arrogant words, that had escaped him, upon his hearing a certain general applauded. "Ought that man," says he, "to be valued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the enemy, whilst he has arms to defend himself?"

Upon the arrival of the first news which was carried to Messene, viz. that Philopæmen was taken prisoner, and on his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city ; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard, till they saw him themselves, so greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to show the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to see him. When they beheld Philopæmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved with compassion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude ; "That the Messenians ought to call to mind the great services done by Philopæmen, and his preserving the liberty of Achæa, by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden ; and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place, called the

\* A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 43. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Leg. c. 52, 53.

treasury. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without, and had no door to it ; but was shut with a huge stone, that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they imprisoned Philopœmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away, and the executioner to descend into the dungeon, with a dose of poison, to Philopœmen, commanding him not to stir till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the first glimmerings of light, and saw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand, and a sword in the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty, for he was very weak, sat down, and then taking the cup, he inquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans, his followers, particularly Lycortas ? The executioner answering, that he heard almost all of them had saved themselves by flight ; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod ; and, looking kindly on him, " You bring me," says he, " good news ; and I find we are not entirely unfortunate ;" after which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the deadly dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects ; for, Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death spread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpressibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately, all their young men, who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment the revenge of so horrid a deed ; and accordingly, having elected on the spot, Lycortas for their general, they advanced, with the utmost fury into Messene, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their entreaties, did not think it advisable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen ; to submit all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæans, and to receive a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by all those, who had advised the putting Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up, who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were, undoubtedly, the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes laid together, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral, as a triumph ; or, rather, it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners, bound in chains ; afterwards the general's son, young Polybius,\* carrying the urn, adorned with ribands and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most distinguished Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who

\* This was Polybius the historian who might then be about twenty-two.

closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene; nor too much elate from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages, flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered all the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him, with magnificent inscriptions.

Several years after,\* at the time that Corinth was burned and destroyed by Mummius, the proconsul, a false acuser, a Roman, as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broke to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council, before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius; who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans; for, the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest; they distinguished the glorious and honest, from the profitable; and, were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men, who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek, as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and, as it were upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities, which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas, a violent and excessive severity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair, and so far from proving a remedy to evils, only inflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith, in their transactions with other nations. They seemed, at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest, on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what

\* Thirty-seven years.



had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it ; that they wanted to make a merit of this, with regard to the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus ; that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip ; when the Ætolians were disgusted ; and, when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprise which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

\* I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Prusias, king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occasion, Eumenes's fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and filled several earthen vessels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only, informing them, at the same time, of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest ; and to annoy the enemy no otherwise than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the galleys. At first, this was only laughed at ; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service. But when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the galleys, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious ; " What," † says Hannibal, " do you rely more upon the liver of a beast than upon the counsel of Hannibal ?" To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.

† I before observed, that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he represented, that the Romans to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it ; that, they had declared to the ambassadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair ; that the Spartans, in the administration of the public affairs were very desirous of that union, which, he observed, could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it, but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. But Diophanes, and some other persons, undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the

\* Liv. l. xxxix. n. 61. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. 10—12. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

† An tu, inquit, vitulinæ carunculæ, quam imperatori veteri mavis credere ? Unius hostiæ jecinori longo experimento testatem gloriam suam postpositæ, æquo animo non tulit. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

‡ A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. 53.

league, and was so accordingly. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republic.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta, and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors, which tended to show that they were disgusted, in any manner, at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state; and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

\* The Lacedæmonian exiles were no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans, hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

† Hyperbates, having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had written, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles, who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the Romans," says he, "listen favourably to such complaints and entreaties of unfortunate persons, as appear to them just and reasonable, they, in this, act a very just part. But, when it is represented to them, that among the favours which are requested at their hands, some are not in their power to bestow, and others would reflect dishonour, and be very prejudicial to their allies; on these occasions they do not use to persist obstinately in their opinions, or exact, from such allies, an implicit obedience to their commands. This is exactly our case at present. Let us inform the Romans, that we cannot obey their orders, without infringing the sacred oaths we have taken; without violating the laws on which our league is founded; and then, they will undoubtedly wave their resolutions, and confess, that it is with the greatest reason we refuse to obey their commands." Hyperbates, and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved, that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas, in council. Callicrates, Lysias, and Aratus, were the ambassadors to whom instructions were given, in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When these ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates, being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion from

\* A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Polyb. in *Læg.* c. 54.

† A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Polyb. in *Læg.* c. 58.

him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they should do. "If the Greeks," says he, "directing himself to the senators, "do not obey you; if they pay no regard either to the letters or orders which you send them, you must blame yourselves only for it. In all the states of Greece there are now two parties; one of which, asserts that all your orders ought to be obeyed; and that laws and treaties, in a word, that all things should pay homage to your will and pleasure. The other party pretends, that it is fitting, that laws, treaties, and oaths, ought to take place of your will; and are for ever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably to them. Of these two parties, the last suits best with the genius and character of the Achæans, and has the greatest influence over the people. What is the consequence of this? Those who comply with your measures are detested by the common people, whilst such as oppose your decrees are honoured and applauded. Whereas, if the senate would show ever so little favour to such as espouse their interest cordially, the chief magistrates and officers of all the republics would declare for the Romans; and the people intimidated by this, would soon follow their example. But whilst you show an indifference on this head, all the chiefs will certainly oppose you, as the infallible means of acquiring the love and respect of the people. And accordingly, we see, that many people, whose only merit consists in their making the strongest opposition to your orders, and a pretended zeal for the defence and preservation of the laws of their country, have been raised to the most exalted employments in their country. In case you do not much value whether the Greeks are, or are not, at your devotion, then indeed your present conduct suits exactly your sentiments. But, if you would have them execute your orders, and receive your letters with respect, reflect seriously on this matter; otherwise, be assured, that they will, on all occasions, declare against your commands. You may judge of the truth of this from their present behaviour towards you. How long is it since you commanded them, by your letters, to recal the Lacedæmonian exiles? Nevertheless, so far from recalling them, they have published a quite contrary decree, and have bound themselves by oath, never to reinstate them. This ought to be a lesson to you, and show how cautious you should be for the future".

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business, in a few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome, as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery; prostituted the liberty, of which their ancestors had been so exceedingly jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the great king of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their interest, sold and sacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; discovered the weak side of republics, with regard to their domestic affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those, who, in their re-

spective countries had the most noble way of thinking ; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such, who, whether right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans ; a resolution, which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all republics, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods, whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republic, and to show us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed, but by the consequences.

To conclude, the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Beotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans ; and, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example the senate wished the magistrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities, which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For, hitherto, a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them ; and, for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the most perilious junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves, at that time, in a most conspicuous manner, by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty ; and, above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treason, for we may justly bestow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection ; and, this it was, that inclined them to favour, the cause of the Lacedemonian exiles. But, if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniences they would bring upon themselves, should they grant certain favours ; they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing, but how he may best work upon their passions by flattery. He had been sent to Rome, to plead the cause of the Achæans ; and, by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares against his superiors, and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain general. He was no sooner invested with this command, but he restored the exiles of Lacedemonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abridgment. The reader must call to mind, that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery.

We are not to expect from an historian, who is subject and dependent, so much veracity, as he very possibly would have observed in a free state, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth ; and, we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind, advanced by him ; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themselves did not scruple to commit injustice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for that purpose ; which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

\* Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which his successors remained possessors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority, to put an end to their differences ; but, Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprises ensued ; and, after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

† Never were more embassies sent, than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces ; or, from the allies and nations to one another. ‡ The Achæans deputed, in this quality, to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However, these ambassadors did not leave Achaia ; because, when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

|| This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded, from this answer, that, as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent, therefore, that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dispatched, in his twenty-ninth year, after he had sat twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor, his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him ; and, Cleopatra, his mother, was declared regent.

## CHAPTER II.

**T**HIS second chapter includes the space of twenty years, from the year of the world 3821, till 3840. In this interval are contained ; the first twenty years of Ptolemy Philometer's reign over Egypt, which amounted, in the whole, to thirty-four years ; the five last years of Philip, who reigned forty years in

\* A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. 51—53—55—59.

† A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. ‡ Polyb. in Leg. c. 57.

|| A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Hieron. in Daniel.

Macedonia, and was succeeded by Perseus, who reigned eleven ; the eight or nine last years of Seleucus Philopator, in Syria ; and, the eleven years of Antiochus Epiphanes, his successor who exercised the most horrid cruelties against the Jews. I shall reserve the eleven years of Perseus's reign over Macedonia, for the following book, though they coincide with part of the history related in this chapter.

## SECTION I.

**PERSEUS CONSPIRES AGAINST DEMETRIUS.—THE LATTER IS INNOCENTLY PUT TO DEATH, AND PERSEUS SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE.**

\* FROM the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome, to complain against Philip, were heard there and many of them very favourably ; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city against a prince, who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all, with the hopes either of having the injuries redressed, which they pretended to have received ; or, at least, to console themselves, in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Atheneus, his brother, to inform the senate, that Philip did not evacuate the garrisons in Thrace, as he had promised ; and, to complain of his sending succours into Bithynia, to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip, king of Macedon, was at that time, in Rome ; whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been sent by his father in order to superintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father ; but the senate imagining that this would be a very difficult task for so young a prince, who was not accustomed to speak in public ; to spare him that trouble, they sent certain persons to him to inquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials, and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him ; but he especially showed great disgust at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to ; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wisely or what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses. That as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things ; that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave ; that, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there, as the hostage of his inclinations, his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing, in any manner, the duty he owed his father ; that, out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably, and without noise, whatever might have been hitherto amiss ; and that, as to the rest, the senate was well pleased to let Philip know that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. These marks of distinction,

\* A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.

which the senate gave him with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated envy against him ; and at length occasioned his destruction.

\* The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace ; not to mention, that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father. For, though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother, who was Philip's lawful wife ; whereas, Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed supposititious. Besides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side, also, Perseus was greatly uneasy ; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects ; and on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the throne as he pleased, beheld, with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him, to see rising, in his life time, and before his eyes, a kind of second court, in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself, did not take sufficient care to prevent or sooth the growing disaffection to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy, by gentleness, modesty, and complacency, he only inflamed it, by a certain air of haughtiness, which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction, with which he had been honoured in that city ; and not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things they had refused his father.

Philip's discontent was much more inflamed at the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son made his court more assiduously than to himself ; and, when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome. All these orders and decrees he complied with, very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment ; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war, for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

† However, his schemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them ; settled them in the most northern part of Macedon, and substituted, in their places, Thracians, and other barbarous nations, whom he believed would be more faithful to him. These

\* Liv. l. xxxix. n. 53.

† Liv. l. xl. n. 3—5.

‡ Emathia, formerly called Peonia.

changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon ; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor, unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houses, and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard, on all sides, but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

\* But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were suspected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing their children ; and he imprisoned them, under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed, one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself, than such a design ; but, the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly, made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country ; and some time after, his two sons in law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state ; but Archo married a nobleman of Enia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris ; took the same care of them as she did of her own son ; and, was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of those who had been put to death ; plainly foreseeing, that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprising resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends, on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely ; and, that he himself would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all set out from Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Enia, to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually, in honour of Eneas, their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on-board a galley, which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa ; when, unhappily, a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards, in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At day break, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop ; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company, in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to get forward ; or, lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time, Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the deadly dose she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her ; " Death," says she, " only can free you from your



" miseries ; and here is what will procure you that last, sad refuge. Secure yourselves from the king's horrid cruelty, by the method you like best. Go, my dear children, such of you as are most advanced in years, and take these poniards ; or, in case a slower kind of death may be more grateful, take this poison." The enemy were now almost in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands ; and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leaped into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed, to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant ; and people vented, in all places, both against him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect ; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

\* Perseus saw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans increased daily. Having now no hopes left, of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by sounding the disposition of those who were in greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first, some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing, that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly ; which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally, that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them ; they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion, that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans, and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously, on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans ; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits ; some for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings ; and others, even for such of the Romans as were in highest estimation ; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all these discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence Demetrius, without considering the consequences, grew suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the designs he continually meditated against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

The ambassadors whom he had sent to Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. These had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the king's courage. Perseus taking advantage of this opportunity; "Of what use," says he, "can all this be to us? We have not so much to hope from foreign aids, as to dread from domestic foes. We harbour in our bosoms, I will not say a traitor, but, at least a spy. The Romans, ever since he was an hostage among them, have restored us his body; but, as to his heart and inclinations, those he has left with them. Almost all the Macedonians fix already their eyes on him; and, are persuaded, that they shall never have any king, but him whom the Romans shall please to set over them." By such speeches, the old king's disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow. A bitch, says Livy, is divided into two parts;\* it being cut, long ways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried; tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes, his children, appear afterward, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king; Perseus, being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigor, the other in the flower of his age; sons, who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms but files, and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock battle; all the men exerting themselves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne. Several were wounded on both sides, and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was very great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the battle; and, the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and satirical flings, some of which were very sharp, against those of the contrary party, without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet; but, four

\* We find, in scripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties pass through the parts of the victim divided. Jer. xxxiv. 18.

young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, said to the company ; " Let us go and conclude our feast " at my brother's, to soften his pain, if he has any remaining, by an agreeable surprise, which will show that we act with frankness and sincerity ; " and do not harbour any malice against him." Immediately, all cried that they would go; those excepted, who were afraid that their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But, Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves, in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man, running hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men, well armed, in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had abused his spy. Nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the door to be locked ; and then, from the window of an upper apartment, which looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with design to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table ; still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air ; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprised at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance ? " It is the greatest happiness for me," answers Perseus, " and by the merest good fortune in the world, that you see me here alive. My brother now no longer lays secret snares for me ; he came in the night to my house, at the head of a body of armed men, purposely to assassinate me. I had no other way left to secure myself from his fury, but by shutting my doors, and keeping the wall between him and me." Perseus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread ; " If you will condescend," says he, " to listen a moment to me, you shall be fully acquainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him ; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time, he sent for Lysimachus, and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone ; during which, he revolved a variety of thoughts, his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip, that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life guards ; and permitted each of his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him ; and, having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows.

" Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide ; reduced to the sad necessity of finding, in one of them, either a criminal or a false accuser. From certain rumours, which long since reached my ears, and an unusual behaviour I observed between

“ you, a behaviour no way suiting brothers, I indeed was afraid this storm  
 “ would break over my head ; and yet, I hoped, from time to time, that  
 “ your discontents and disquiets would soften, and your suspicions vanish  
 “ away. I recollected that contending kings and princes, laying down  
 “ their arms, had frequently contracted alliances and friendships ; and,  
 “ that private men had suppressed their animosities. I flattered myself,  
 “ that you would one day remember the endearing name of brethren, by  
 “ which you are united ; those tender years of infancy, which you spent  
 “ in simplicity and union ; in fine, the counsels so often repeated by a fa-  
 “ ther ; counsels, which, alas ! I am afraid have been given to children  
 “ deaf and indocile to my voice. How many times, after setting before  
 “ you examples of the discord between brothers, have I represented its  
 “ fatal consequences, by showing you, that they had thereby involved  
 “ themselves in inevitable ruin ; and, not only themselves, but their chil-  
 “ dren, families, and kingdoms ? On the other side, I proposed good  
 “ examples for your imitation ; the strict union between the two kings of  
 “ Lacedæmonia, so advantageous during several centuries, to themselves  
 “ and their country ; in opposition to division and private interest, that  
 “ changed the monarchic government into tyranny, and proved the de-  
 “ struction of Sparta. By what other method, than by fraternal concord,  
 “ did the two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from such weak beginnings,  
 “ as almost reflected dishonour on the regal dignity, rise to a pitch of power,  
 “ equal to mine, to that of Antiochus, and of all the kings we know of ?  
 “ I even did not scruple to cite examples from the Romans, of which I  
 “ myself had either been an eye witness, or heard from others ; as the  
 “ two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were engaged in war  
 “ with me ; the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who defeated and sub-  
 “ jected Antiochus ; their father and their uncle, who, having been insepa-  
 “ rable during their lives, were undivided in death. Neither the crimes  
 “ of the one, though attended with such fatal consequences ; nor the vir-  
 “ tues of the other, though crowned with such happy success, have been  
 “ able to make you abhor division and discord, and to inspire you with  
 “ gentle and pacific sentiments. Both of you, in my life time, have turn-  
 “ ed your eyes and guilty desires upon my throne. You will not suffer me  
 “ to live, till surviving one of you, I secure my crown to the other, by  
 “ my death. The fond names of father and brother are insupportable to  
 “ both. Your souls are strangers to tenderness and love. A restless de-  
 “ sire of reigning has banished all other sentiments from your breasts, and  
 “ entirely engrosses you. But come, let me hear what each of you have  
 “ to say. Pollute the ears of your parent with real or feigned accusations.  
 “ Open your criminal mouths ; vent all your reciprocal slanders, and af-  
 “ terwards, arm your parricide hands one against the other. I am ready to  
 “ hear all you have to say ; firmly determined to shut my ears eternally,  
 “ from henceforth, against the secret whispers and accusations of brother  
 “ against brother.” Philip, having spoken these last words with great  
 “ emotion, and an angry tone of voice, all who were present wept, and  
 “ continued a long time in a mournful silence.

At last Perseus spoke as follows. “ I perceive plainly, that I ought to  
 “ have opened my door in the dead of night ; to have admitted the assas-  
 “ sins into my house, and presented my throat to their murderous swords,  
 “ since guilt is never believed, till it has been perpetrated ; and, since I,  
 “ who was so inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious reproaches  
 “ as the aggressor. People have but too much reason to say, that you  
 “ consider Demetrius only as your true son ; whilst unhappy I, am looked

" upon as a stranger, sprung from a concubine, or even an impostor. For, did your breast glow with the tenderness which a father ought to have for his child, you would not think it just to inveigh so bitterly against me, for whose life so many snares have been laid, but against him who contrived them ; and you would not think my life so inconsiderable, as to be entirely unmoved at the imminent danger I escaped ; nor, to that to which I shall be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies be suffered to go unpunished. If I must die without being suffered to breathe my complaints, be it so ; let me leave the world in silence, and be contented with beseeching the gods, in my expiring moments, that the crime, which was begun in my person, may end in it, and not extend to your sacred life. But, if, what nature inspires in those, who, seeing themselves attacked unawares in solitude, implore the assistance even of strangers to them, I may be allowed to do with regard to you on the present occasion. If, when I see swords drawn around me, in order to pierce my heart, I may be permitted to vent forth a plaintive and supplicating voice ; I conjure you, by the tender, the dear name of father, for which, whether my brother or I have had the greatest reverence, you yourself have long known to listen to me at this time, as if, awaked suddenly from your sleep, by the tumult of what passed last night, chance had brought you, at the instant of my danger, and in the midst of my complaints ; and, that you had found Demetrius at my door, attended by persons in arms. What I should have told you yesterday, in the greatest emotion, and seized with fear, I say to you now.

" Brother, it is long since we have not behaved towards one another, like persons desirous of sharing in parties of pleasure. You are fired with an insatiable thirst of reigning ; but, you find an invincible obstacle in my age, the law of nations, the ancient customs of Macedonia ; and, a still stronger circumstance, my father's will and pleasure. It will be impossible for you ever to force these barriers, and to ascend the throne, but by imbruing your hands in my blood. To compass your horrid ends, you employ instruments of all kinds, and set every engine at work. Hitherto, my vigilance, or my good fortune, have preserved me from your bloody hands. Yesterday, at the review, and the ceremony of the tournament which followed it, the battle, by your contrivance, became almost bloody and fatal ; and, had I not suffered myself and my followers to be defeated, you would have sent me to the grave. From this fight, indeed of enemies, you insidiously wanted, as if what had passed had been only the diversion of brothers, to allure me to your feast. Can you suppose, royal father, that I should have met with unarmed guests there, as those very guests came to my palace, completely armed, at so late an hour ? Can you imagine, that, favoured by the gloom, they would not have strove to plunge their daggers in my heart ; as the same persons, in open day, and before your eyes, almost killed me with their wooden weapons ? How ! You who are my professed enemy ; you who are conscious that I have so much reason to complain of your conduct ; you, I say, come to me in the night, at an unseasonable hour, and at the head of a company of armed young men ? I did not think it safe for me to go to your entertainment ; and, should I receive you in my house at a time, when, heated with the fumes of wine, you came so well attended ? Had I then opened my door, royal sir, you would be prepared to solemnize my funeral, at this very instant, in which you vouchsafe to hear my complaints. I do not advance any thing dubious, nor speak barely from conjecture. For, can Demetrius

“ deny, but that he came to my house, attended by a band of young people, and that some of them were armed ; I only desire to have those whom I shall name, sent for. I believe them capable of any thing ; but yet they cannot have the assurance to deny the fact. Had I brought them before you, after seizing them armed in my house, you would be fully convinced of their guilt, and surely their own confession ought to be a no less proof of it.

“ You call down imprecations and curses upon impious sons, who aspire to your throne ; this, august sir, you have great reason to do. But, then I beseech you not to vent your imprecations blindly, and at random. Distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. Let him, who meditated the barbarous design of murdering his brother, feel the dire effects of the anger of the gods, the avengers of paternal authority ; but then, let him, who, by his brother's guilt, was brought to the brink of destruction, find a secure asylum in his father's tenderness and justice. For, where else can I expect to find one. I, to whom neither the ceremony of the review, the solemnity of the tournament, my own house, the festival, nor the hours of night, allotted by the gods to the repose of man, could afford the least security ? If I go to the entertainment to which my brother invites me, I am a dead man ; and it will be equally fatal to me, if I admit him into my house, when he comes thither at midnight. Snare are laid for me, wherever I tread. Death lies in ambush for me, wherever I move. To what place, then, can I fly for security ?

“ I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to you, my royal father. I never made my court to the Romans, and cannot have recourse to them. There is nothing they more earnestly wish, than my ruin, because I am so much affected with their injustice to you ; because I am tortured to the soul, and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed of so many cities and dominions ; and lately, of the maritime coasts of Thrace. They cannot flatter themselves with the hopes of ever making themselves masters of Macedonia, as long as you or I am in being. They are sensible, that, should I die by my brother's guilt, or age bring you to the grave ; or, they not wait the due course of nature ; that then, the king and kingdom will be at their disposal.

“ Had the Romans left you the possession of some city or territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, I possibly might have had some opportunity of retiring to it. But, will it be answered, I shall find a sufficiently powerful protection in the Macedonians ? You yourself, royal father, saw with what animosity and virulence the soldiers attacked me in the battle. What was wanting, for my destruction, but swords of steel ? However, the arms they wanted, my brother's guests assumed in the night. What shall I say of a great part of the principal persons of your court, who ground all their hopes on the Romans, and on him who is all powerful with them ? They are not ashamed to prefer him not only to me, who am his elder brother ; but, I might almost say it, to you who are our king and father. For, they pretend, it is to him you are obliged for the senate's remitting you some of those things which they otherwise would have required. It is he who now checks the Romans, and prevents their advancing, in a hostile manner, into your kingdom. In fine, if they may be believed, your old age has no other refuge, but the protection which your young son procures you. On his side are the Romans, on all the cities which have been dismembered from your dominions, as well as all such Macedonians, whose dependence, with regard to fortune, lies wholly in the Romans. But, with respect to myself, I look upon it as glorious

“ to have no other protector but my royal father, and to place all my hopes  
“ in him alone.

“ What do you judge to be the aim and design of the letter you lately  
“ received from Quintius, in which he declares expressly, that you acted  
“ prudently for your interest, in sending Demetrius to Rome ; and, where-  
“ in he exhorts you to send him back thither, accompanied by other ambas-  
“ sadors, and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen ? Quintius is now  
“ every thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide but his counsels, or  
“ rather his orders. Quite forgetting that you are his father, he seems to  
“ have substituted him in your place. It is in the city of Rome, and in his  
“ sight, he formed the secret and clandestine designs, which will soon break  
“ out into action. It is merely to have the better opportunity of putting  
“ them in execution, that Quintius orders you to send along with Demetri-  
“ us a greater number of the Macedonian nobility. They set out from this  
“ country, with the most sincere attachment to your person and interest ;  
“ but, won by the gracious treatment they meet with in that city, they  
“ return from it, entirely corrupted and debauched by different sentiments.  
“ Demetrius is all in all with them ; they even presume, in your life time,  
“ to give him the title of king. If I appear shocked at this conduct, I  
“ have the grief to see, not only others, but yourself, my royal father,  
“ charge me with the horrid design of aspiring to your throne. Should  
“ this accusation be levelled at us both, I am conscious of my own inno-  
“ cence ; and, it cannot, in any manner, affect me. For who, in that  
“ case, should I dispossess, to seize upon what would be another's right.  
“ There is no one but my father between me and the throne ; and I beseech  
“ the gods that he may long continue so. In case I should happen to sur-  
“ vive him, and this I would not wish, but so long as he should desire it, I  
“ shall succeed him in the kingdom, if it be his good pleasure. He may  
“ be accused of aspiring to the throne, and of aspiring, in the most unjust  
“ and criminal manner, who is impatient to break the order and bounds  
“ prescribed by age, by nature, by the usages and customs of Macedonia,  
“ and by the law of nations. My elder brother, says Demetrius to him-  
“ self, to whom the kingdom belongs, both by right of seniority, and my  
“ father's will, is an obstacle to my ambitious views. What, then, must  
“ be done ? I must despatch him. I shall not be the first who has waded  
“ through a brother's blood to the throne. My father in years, and without  
“ support, will be too much afraid for his own life, to meditate revenge for  
“ his son's death. The Romans will be greatly pleased to see me on the  
“ throne ; they will approve my conduct, and be able to support me. I  
“ own, most gracious father, these projects may all be defeated ; but, I am  
“ sure they are not without foundation. In a word, I reduce all to this ; it  
“ is in your power to secure my life, by bringing to condign punishment,  
“ those who yesterday armed to assassinate me ; but, should their guilt take  
“ effect, it will not be in your power to revenge my death.”

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the company cast their eyes  
on Demetrius, to intimate, that it was incumbent on him to answer immedi-  
ately. But that young prince, being quite oppressed with sorrow, shed-  
ding floods of tears, and seeming unable to speak, a long silence ensued.  
At last, being pressed to answer, he made his grief give way to necessity,  
and spoke as follows.

“ Perseus, royal sir, by accusing me in your presence, and by shedding  
“ fictitious tears to move you to compassion, has made you suspect mine,  
“ which, alas ! are but too sincere ; and, by that means, deprived me of all  
“ the advantages the accused generally have. Ever since my return from

"Rome, he has been day and night laying snares for me, in secret cabals with his creatures ; and yet, he represents me to you, not only as laying hidden ambuscades to destroy him, but attacking him by open force, and persons in arms. He endeavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers which surround him, in hopes that you will put to death his innocent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, no asylum left, with design to prevent my finding one in your clemency and justice. In the solitary and abandoned state to which I see myself reduced, quite friendless and unprotected, he strives to make me odious, by reproaching me with a foreign credit and support, which are rather a prejudice than a service to me.

"Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art he has blended and confounded the transactions of last night, with every other circumstance of my life ; and, this in a double view, first to raise a suspicion in you of my conduct in general, from this last action, the innocence of which will soon be evident ; and, secondly, to support, by this idle story of a nocturnal attack, his equally idle accusation, of my harbouring criminal views, hopes, and pretensions. At the same time, he has endeavoured to show that this accusation was not premeditated or prepared ; but, that it was wholly the effect of the fear with which he was seized, occasioned by last night's tumult. But, Perseus, if I had attempted to betray my father and his kingdom ; had I engaged in conspiracies with the Romans, and with the enemies of the state, you ought not to have waited for the opportunity of the fictitious story of last night's transaction, but, should have impeached me, before this time of such treason. If the charge of treason, when separated from the other, was altogether improbable, and could serve to no other purpose, but to prove how much you envy me, and not to evidence my guilt ; you ought not to have mentioned it now, but should have postponed that charge to another time ; and, have examined now this question only, whether you laid snares for me, or I for you. I, nevertheless, will endeavour, as far as the confusion, into which this sudden and unforeseen accusation has thrown me, will permit, to separate and distinguish what you have thrown together indiscriminately ; and, to show whether you or myself ought, in justice, to be accused of dealing treacherously last night.

"Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to assassinate him, in order that, by the death of my elder brother, to whom the crown appertains by the right of nations, by the customs of Macedonia, and even, as he pretends, by your determination ; I, though the younger son, might succeed to the throne. To what purpose, therefore, is that other part of his speech, where he declares, that I have been particularly studious to ingratiate myself with the Romans, and flattered myself with the hopes of being able to ascend the throne by their assistance ? For, if I thought the Romans were powerful enough to bestow the kingdom of Macedon on whomsoever they pleased ; and, if I relied so much on my credit and authority with them, why should I commit a fratricide, of no advantage to myself ? What should I have affected to surround my temples with a diadem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely that I might become odious and execrable, even to those with whom I had acquired some authority, admitting I have some credit with them, by a probity either real or dissimulated ? Unless you can suppose that Quintius, whose counsel I am accused of following ; he, I say, who lives in so delightful an union with his brother, suggested to me the horrid design of imbruing my hands in my brother's blood. Perseus has summed up all the advantages, by which, as



“ he would insinuate, I can promise myself a superiority over him, such, as the credit of the Romans, the suffrages of the Macedonians, and the almost universal consent of gods and men ; and yet he at the same time, as if I was inferior to him in all respects, charges me with having recourse to an expedient which none but the blackest villains could employ. Will you, gracious sir, have us judged upon this principle and rule, that whichever of us two was apprehensive that the other would be judged more worthy of the diadem, shall be declared to have formed the design of murdering his brother ?

“ But let us come to facts, and examine the order and plan of the criminal enterprise, with which I am charged. Perseus pretends to have been attacked in different manners, all which are however, included within the space of one day. I attempted, as he says, to murder him in broad day light, in the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of the review. I had determined to poison him at an entertainment to which I had invited him ; in fine, I resolved to attack him with open force, in the dead of night, attended by armed persons, to a party of pleasure, at his house.

“ You see, sir, the season I had chosen to commit this fratricide ; a tournament, a banquet, a party of pleasure. How venerable and solemn was this day ! a day on which the army is reviewed, on which the resplendent arms of all the Macedonian monarchs are carried in the front of the procession ; on which it passes through the two parts of the sacred victim ; and on which, we have the honour to march with you, at the head of the whole Macedonian people. What ! though purified by this august sacrifice, from all the faults I might before have committed ; having before my eyes, the sacred victim through which we passed, was my mind intent upon fratricides, poisons, and daggers ! Defiled in such a manner, by crimes of the most horrid nature, by what ceremonies, by what victims, would it have been possible for me to purify myself ?

“ It is evident, that my brother, hurried on by a blind passion, to calumniate and destroy me, in his endeavour to make every thing suspected, and a crime in me, betrays and contradicts himself. For, brother, had I formed the abominable design of poisoning you at my table, what could be more ill judged than to exasperate you, and to put you upon your guard by an obstinate battle, in which I should have discovered that I had designs of violence against you ; and by that means, have prevented your coming to an entertainment to which I had invited you, and at which you accordingly, refused to be present ? But, surely, after such a refusal, should I not have endeavoured to reconcile myself to you ; and, as I had resolved to take you off by poison, ought I not to have sought another opportunity for giving you the fatal draught ? Was it natural for me to change suddenly, in one day, my barbarous design, and to attempt to assassinate you, upon pretence of going to your house on a party of pleasure ? Could I reasonably flatter myself with the hopes, taking it for granted that the fear of your being murdered had made you refuse to come to my entertainment, that the same fear would not induce you to refuse me admittance into your house ?

“ I presume, sir, I may confess to you, without blushing, that in a day of festivity and rejoicing, happening to be in company with some people of the same age with myself, I drank more plentifully than usual. Inquire, I beseech you how we spent our time at the feast, how full of mirth we were, how transported with thoughtless gaiety, very much heightened by our, perhaps, too indiscreet joy, for the victory we had gained

“ in the tournament. It is the sad condition of an unforeseen accusation ;  
 “ it is the danger in which I now see myself involved, that have dispelled  
 “ but too easily the fumes of wine ; otherwise, a calm assassin, my eyes  
 “ had still been closed in slumbers. Had I formed a resolution to attack  
 “ your house, with the view of murdering you, would it not have been pos-  
 “ sible for me to abstain, for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to  
 “ keep my companions from the like excess ?

“ But, that it may not be thought that I, only act with frankness and  
 “ simplicity, let us hear my brother whose conduct is sincere and undisguis-  
 “ ed, and who does not harbour the least suspicion. All, says he, that I  
 “ know, and the only thing I have to complain of, is, that they came armed  
 “ to my house, upon pretence of engaging in a party of pleasure. Should  
 “ I ask you how you came to know this, you will be forced to own, either  
 “ that my house was filled with spies sent by you, or else that my attendants  
 “ had taken up arms in so open a manner, that every one knew of it. What  
 “ does my brother do ? That he may not seem to have formerly watched  
 “ all my motions ; nor, at this time, to ground his accusation merely on  
 “ suppositions, he beseeches you to inquire of those whom he shall name,  
 “ whether people did not come armed to his house ; in order that, as if this  
 “ were a doubtful circumstance, after this inquiry into an incident which  
 “ they themselves own and confess, they may be considered as legally con-  
 “ victed. But is this the question ? Why do you not desire an enquiry to  
 “ be made, whether they took up arms to assassinate you, and if they did it  
 “ with my knowledge, and at my request ? For, it is this you pretend ; and  
 “ not what they themselves own publicly, and which is very manifest, that  
 “ they took up arms in no other view, but to defend themselves. Whether  
 “ they had or had not reason to arm themselves, that they are to inform you.  
 “ Do not blend and confound my cause with theirs, for they are quite dis-  
 “ tinct and separate. Only tell us, whether we really intended to attack  
 “ you openly, or by surprise. If openly, why did we not all take up  
 “ arms ? Why were those only armed, who had insulted your spy ? In case  
 “ it was to have been by surprise, in what manner would the attack have  
 “ been made ? Would it have been at the end of the feast in your house,  
 “ and after I had left it with my company, would the four men in question  
 “ have staid behind, to have fallen upon you when asleep ? How would it  
 “ have been possible for them, as they were strangers, in my service, to con-  
 “ ceal themselves in your house ; and, as they could not but be very much  
 “ suspected, having been seen, but a few hours before engaged in the quar-  
 “ rel ? Again, supposing they had found an opportunity to murder you, in  
 “ what manner could they have escaped ? Could four men, armed, have been  
 “ able to make themselves masters of your house ?

“ But, to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come to what really pains  
 “ you, and which you have so much at heart ; for what reason, methinks I  
 “ hear my brother say, wherefore, O Demetrius, do the people talk of mak-  
 “ ing you king ? Why do some persons think you more worthy than I, of  
 “ succeeding our father ? Why do you make my hopes doubtful and uncer-  
 “ tain, which, were it not for you, would have been established on the most  
 “ solid foundation ? Such are the reflections which Perseus revolves in his  
 “ mind, though he does not express himself in this manner ; it is this  
 “ raises his enmity against me, and prompts him to charge me with such  
 “ horrid attempts ; it is this fills the palace and every part of the kingdom,  
 “ with suspicions and accusations. If it does not become me, sir, so  
 “ much as to hope the sceptre, nor, perhaps, ever to think of contesting it,  
 “ because it is your will and pleasure that I should yield to my elder

" brother, it does not follow that I ought to make myself appear unworthy of it, either to you,\* my royal father, or to all the Macedonians ; a circumstance which nothing but my ill conduct could occasion. I can, indeed, through moderation, resign it to whom it belongs ; but I cannot prevail with myself to renounce my virtue and good name.

" You reproach me with the affection of the Romans, and impute that to me for a crime which ought to be my glory. I did not desire to be sent to Rome, neither as an hostage at first, nor afterwards as ambassador ; this, sir, you yourself very well know. When you ordered me to go thither, I obeyed your commands ; and I believe my conduct and behaviour were such, as cannot reflect the least dishonour, either on yourself, your crown, or the Macedonian nation. It is therefore yourself, sir, who occasioned the friendship I have contracted with the Romans. So long as you shall be at peace with them, so long our friendship will subsist ; but the moment the trumpet sounds for war, though I have been an hostage among them, and exercised the functions of an ambassador in such a manner as perhaps has not been disadvantageous to my father ; from that moment, I say, I shall declare myself their enemy. I do not desire to reap any benefit on the present occasion, from the love which the Romans have for me ; all I entreat is, that it may not be of prejudice to me. It was not begun in war, nor is it designed to subsist in it. As an hostage and an ambassador, peace was my only object ; let that be neither considered in me as a crime, or a merit.

" If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I owe you, sir ; if I have formed any criminal enterprise against my brother, let me be punished as I deserve ; but, if I am innocent, this I claim ; that as I cannot be convicted of the least guilt, I may not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first time that my brother has charged me with harbouring horrid designs ; but it is the first time he has attempted to do it openly, though without the least foundation. Was my father exasperated against me, it would be your duty, as the elder, kindly to intercede for your younger brother ; to solicit his pardon, to entreat that some regard might be shown to his youth ; and that a fault, which had been committed merely through inadvertency, might be overlooked. My ruin comes from that very quarter, whence I might naturally have expected my safety.

" Though not quite awake, after the feast and party of pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sudden, to answer a charge of fratricide ; and am forced to plead my own cause, unassisted by counsellors, and unsupported by the advice or credit of a single person. Had I been to speak in favour of another, I should have taken time to prepare and compose my discourse ; and, yet, on such an occasion, my reputation only would have laid at stake, and I should have had nothing to do but to display my wit and eloquence. At this instant, without knowing the cause for which I am ordered to appear in this place, I hear an offended father commanding me to make my defence ; and a brother charging me with the most horrid crimes. Perseus has had all the time he could desire, to prepare his accusation ; whilst unhappy I, did not so much as know what the business was, till the very instant the accusation was brought against me. In this rapid moment, ought I to be more attentive to my accuser, than studious of my own apology ? Surprised by a

\* Instead of " indignus te patre," Gronovius reads, " indignus tibi pater ;" which seems to agree better with the context.

“ sudden and unforeseen accusation, I could scarce comprehend what was laid to my charge, so far from being able to know how to make a defence. What hopes, what refuge could I have left, did I nor know that it is my royal father who is to judge ? He may show a greater affection for my brother, as the elder ; but he owes more compassion to me, as being the party accused ; I myself conjure you to preserve my life, for your own sake and mine ; whereas, Perseus insists upon your sacrificing me to his safety. What may you not naturally expect from him, when you shall once have invested him with your authority, as he now demands your favour in preference to me, at no less a price than my blood ?”

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs and groans, intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends ; and then, ordering them to be called in again, he told them ; “ I will not pronounce sentence on this affair, from mere words, and a few transient speeches ; but, from the inquiry I shall make into your conduct ; from your behaviour in small, as well as great things, and from your words as well as actions.” This judgment showed plainly enough, that, although Demetrius had cleared himself, with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother’s life, Philip, however, suspected him, from his union with the Romans. These were, in a manner, the first sparks of the war that appeared in Philip’s life time, and which were to break into a flame, under Perseus, his successor.

† The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Appelles, as his ambassadors, to Rome, not so much with the design of employing them in any negotiation, as to inquire how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius ; and, to inquire secretly into what he had said there, particularly to Quintius, with regard to the succession to the throne. Philip imagined, that these two men were not attached to any party ; but, they were Perseus’s adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting, his brother’s accusation excepted, had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father ; especially, when he found that his brother had so ordered matters, that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured, was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to shun all occasions of suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter ; knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner ; but, this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere in all things, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hemus, the Black Sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, was curious to have an ocular demonstration of it ; imagining, that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia ; appointing Didas, governor of Peonia, and one of the king’s chief officers, to escort him. This governor was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfect-

ly ; and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions, in the most odious light to his father ; and, offered to serve him to the utmost, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means, for it was necessary to pass through Peonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor ; and accordingly, he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip ; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up mount Hemus, was returned with no better informations from his inquiry, than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not, however, refute the vulgar opinion ; in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public ; rather than because they had seen, from one and the same spot, rivers, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's bosom friend, was seized, and strict orders were given, to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them ; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, "not to be offended at his son Demetrius, for some unguarded expressions which might have escaped him, with respect to the succession to the crown ; assuring him, that he would not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of blood and nature." He concluded with observing, "that it was never in his thoughts to give him such counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans, through Peonia, and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him was the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly ; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thesalonica to go for Demetrias, he commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Peonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two of Didas's domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

\* Almost two years were elapsed, before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time, Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king; and, to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him to see his old age despised; some waiting, with the utmost impatience, for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another Antigonus,† who had been Philip's guardian; and, under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but, this inviolable attachment to his father, made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought; and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; when, sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps, by which it may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus's conspiracy.

The persons who had the greatest concern in that black affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome, and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flaminius, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles, in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined," says he, "royal sir, from several things I have heard you say, that nothing could give you greater pleasure, than to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain of your two sons; and to discover which of them it was that made an attempt on the other's life. You have now in your power, the man who is best able to give you a perfect account of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now in your palace, and you may command him to be sent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he first denied every thing; but he spoke so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were

\* A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. Liv. l. xl. n. 54—57.

† He was surnamed Dason.

extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Ychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered son, or to him who was still living.

Perseus, being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and credit, to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took, was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court, as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced," says Philip, "to the deplorable necessity of wishing that my fate, which other fathers detest, as the most dreadful calamity that can befall them, the being childless; I now am resolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe to the guardianship of your uncle; and which, he not only preserved by his fidelity, but enlarged considerably by his valor. I know no man worthy of the crown but yourself. And were there none capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely rather it should be lost for ever, than that Perseus should have it, as the reward of his impious perfidy. Methinks I shall see Demetrius rise from the sepulchre, and restored to his father, if I can be so happy as to substitute you in his place; you, who only bewail the untimely death of my dear son, and the unhappy credulity which proved his destruction."

After this, he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the public. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerously ill. The physicians declared that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and, he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting the most horrid imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes, the Physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he despatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them, that he should keep some in readiness for that purpose; and, he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprised all people. He then took possession of the crown, which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four last of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he made preparations from his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus's history, which has scarce any connection with that of the other kings, I shall refer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large, and without interruption.

## SECTION II.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR DIES, AND IS SUCCEDED BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.—  
DISTURBANCES IN EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him, happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of Maccabees.\* The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed, at that time, profound tranquillity. Onias, the high priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden, a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias, the high priest, made to his unjust enterprises, informed the king, that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and, that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus, his first minister, to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true. The high priest told him that these treasures were only deposited there, as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not, in any manner, dispose of them in wrong of those to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of 400 talents of silver, about 50,000 pounds sterling, and in 200 talents of gold, 300,000 pounds sterling. However, the minister sent from the prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the resolution to execute his commission. Immediately, the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator, upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compas-

\* 2 Maccabees, iii.



sion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, upon account of so impious a sacrilege.

By this time, Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treasury, and preparing to break it open. But the \* spirit of the Almighty now revealed itself by the most sensible marks ; insomuch, that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus, were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For, there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which, rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time, there were seen two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye ; and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus, falling from his horse, was taken up, and put into his litter ; and this man, who, a moment before, had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him ; and that because the power of God had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power, he was cast to the ground, speechless, and without showing the least sign of life ; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple, by the effect of his power.

But now some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him ; " Return thanks to Onias, the high priest ; for, it is for his sake that the Lord has granted you life. After having been scourged from heaven, declare to the whole world his miraculous power." Having spoken these words they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way ; declaring, to every one, the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered ; " In case you have an enemy, or any traitorous wretch who has a design upon your crown, send him thither, and you will see him return back quite flayed with scourging ; and he, perhaps, may die under it. For he who inhabiteth the heavens, is himself present in that place ; he is the guardian and protector of it ; and he strikes those mortally who go thither to injure it."

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great, having, after his defeat at Sypilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus, one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. † He resided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known ; perhaps, to put him at the head of some military expedition, which he might judge him capable of executing ; and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius, his only son, who was but 12 years of age to Rome, as an hostage, in Antiochus's room. ‡ During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not

\* Sed spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit suæ ostentationis evidentiam.

† App. in Syr. p. 116.

‡ A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175.

returned from it, Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus, and accordingly he poisoned him.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, \* "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days† he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle." These few words denote evidently the short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. "There shall arise up in his place," of Antiochus, "a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, shall cause to pass away, and shall destroy the glory of the kingdom." And indeed, this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, 1000 talents‡ annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

§ Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told, that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verse 21, of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii. foretells every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the || "little horn which was to issue out of one of the four large horns." I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here, chap. xi. ver. 21, the prophet describes his accession to the throne. "And in his," Seleucus's, "estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." Antiochus's conduct shall show how vile he was. It is said, "that to him they shall not give the honours of the kingdom." He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son, who was his lawful heir, nor by the free choice of the people; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the west "peaceably, or rather secretly," to surprise his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

¶ He assumed the title of Epiphanes, that is, illustrious, which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will show, that he deserved much more that of Epimanes, mad or furious, which some people gave him.

Some circumstances related of him, prove how justly the epithet "vile" is bestowed upon him in scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domestics, and ramble up and down the streets of Antioch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers, in their shops, and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would very of-

\* Dan. xi. 20.

† The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.

‡ About 150,000 pounds.

§ Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan.

|| Dan. viii. 9.

¶ Athen. l. v. p. 193.

ten stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places where they were assembled. On these occasions he would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure between young people, he used to go, without saying a word to any person, and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least order or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and, in that garb, would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and sometimes would set up for edile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the curule chair\*; when, seating himself in it, he judged the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling; and pronounced sentence with as much seriousness and gravity as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that, when intoxicated with liquor, he would frequently scour up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, "catch as catch can." At other times, he would leave his palace, dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head, and walk without attendants about the streets; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt him with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe for that purpose. He used often to go and bathe himself in the public baths, with the common people, where he committed such extravagances, as made every body despise him. After what has been said, and I omit a great many other particulars, I submit it to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of senseless, rather than that of illustrious.

† Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne, but Jason, brother of Onias, the Jewish high priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered that prince, secretly, 360 talents, about 90,000 pounds sterling, besides 80 more, about 12,000 pounds, for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high priest. He succeeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the Maccabees, and Josephus.

‡ In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the tuition of her young son, and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence.

But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch, was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, but they sent a deputation to demand Cœlosyria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these

\* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

† A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv.

‡ A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Dan.

kings, and sister to the other, had prevented them, as long as she lived, from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not show so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right. \* It is certain, that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces, from the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great dispossessed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus, his son, with no other right than that of conquest. They had descended from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared, that, in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, who possessed themselves of all countries after the battle of Ipsus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces; that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts, and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria, including Cœlosyria and Palestine, had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that consequently they belonged justly to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted that it was an absolute chimera. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

† Ptolemy Philometor, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria, for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate him upon it, in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but, the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress, he took Jerusalem in his way. Jason, and the whole city, received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city, and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia; and after having settled all things, in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

‡ The same Apollonius had been sent, by Antiochus, to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate, for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people, of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship, which had been granted to his father, should be renewed with him; and desired, that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued

\* Polyb. in Leg. c. 72—82. † 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22. ‡ Liv. l. xl. n. 6.

himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he had received from the senate ; from all the youths of Rome, and from persons of all ranks and conditions, during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hostage, but as a monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

\* Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negotiate some other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to the orders of his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering 300 talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts ; but, the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though so very hard hearted, however, lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and, of which I relate only such particulars at large, as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.

† Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœlosyria and Palestine ; finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined, that as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were engaged in so many affairs, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour ; and, that the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians, on account of those provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate, to represent the right he had to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, of which he was actually possessed, and the necessity he was under of engaging in a war, in order for the support of them ; immediately after which, he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his, near mount Casius and Pelusium, and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good an use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt ; after which, without engaging in any other enterprise that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter quarters for his army.

‡ During his stay there, three persons, deputed from the sanhedrim of

\* A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. 2 Maccab. iv. 28, &c.

† A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Leg. c. 71, 72. Justin l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Leg. xviii. Hieron. in Daniel.

‡ A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50.

Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty, in his presence, of impiety and sacrilege. The king was going to condemn him; but at the request of Ptolemy Macron, one of his ministers in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies, as false witnesses; "An action," says the author of the Maccabees, \* "so very unjust, that, before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent." The Tyrians, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

† This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the island of Cyprus, under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept, in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest instances upon that head; but, had constantly refused to regard them, from justly suspecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer. A rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his disposal! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers; or, at his not having been rewarded for so important a service; he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidants; made him governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem, under Sostratus. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron, in the books of the Maccabees.

‡ Antiochus spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt; and, the instant the season would permit it, invaded that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but without success; for Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched to the very centre of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and, when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Memphis, and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

Philometor was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king, his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian; but, when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext, he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

\* 2 Maccab. iv. 47.

† Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. and 1 Maccab. iii. 38.

‡ 2 Maccab. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17—20. Hieron. in Daniel. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 311.

\* Phllometor made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shown himself to those who fought for him; and, after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preserve it! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave proofs of both, as the effect of his soft and effeminate education, under Euleus, his governor. That eunuch, who also was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs; and to make himself as necessary, when the young prince should be of age, as he had been during his minority, and thereby engross all power in his own hands.

† Whilst Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly, he marched, with a few more than a thousand men, to Jerusalem; and there, by the assistance of his partisans in the city, made himself master of it; drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel; exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow citizens; and unmercifully put to death all those who fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus, in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which mostly exasperated him, was, his being informed, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He, therefore, besieged the city, took it by storm; and, during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused 80,000 men to be inhumanly butchered; 40,000 were also taken prisoners, and the like number add to the neighbouring nations.

But, not yet satisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple, as far as the sanctuary, and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the shewbread, the candlestick with seven branches, belonging to the sanctuary, all these were of gold; with several other vases, utensils, and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch, laden with the spoils of Judea and Egypt, all which together amounted to immense sums.‡ To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed, as governor over Judea, a Phrigian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty. He nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria; and, bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of high priest, investing him with the authority annexed to that office.

|| Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jerusalem, by strange phenomena in the skies, that had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some

\* Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

† 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 5—21. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. l. Hieron. in Dan.

‡ We are told, in the Maccabees, book ii. ch. i. ver. 14 that he carried off, from the temple, 1800 talents; which are equivalent to about 270,000 pounds sterling.

|| 2 Maccab. v. 2—4.

on horseback, and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords; who, forming considerable bodies, combatted in the air, like two armies in battle.

\* The Alexandrians, seeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them; and, therefore, seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. † On this occasion, he had the name of Ptolemy Evergetes II. given him, which was soon changed to that of Cacergetes; the former signifying beneficent, and the latter malevolent. He afterwards was nicknamed Physcon,‡ or Tunbellied, because his immoderate eating, had made him remarkably corpulent. || Most historians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion, thereupon, to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea fight, near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army; and to deliberate with them, on the measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. After many debates, they came, at last, to this resolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and, that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their mediation, to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their proposals on the morrow. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Euleus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his mal administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion from thence to enforce the right he had to Coelosyria and Palestine; alleged the reasons we have related above, and produced some authentic instruments, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced that he had the justest right to those provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; promising them that he would make preparations for a solemn treaty, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

\* A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Porphy. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

† Athen. l. iv. p. 184.

‡ *φυσκων* ventricosus, obesus, from *φύρον* Crassum intestinum, venter.

|| Polyb. in Leg. c. lxxxi.



After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it.\* In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes, and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome; representing the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time, in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed, that the authority of the Romans was so much revered, by all nations and kings; and that, Antiochus particularly had received so many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare, by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria; that, should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and, that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, should the world have an opportunity to say, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such an height of power, which would be too formidable, should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. Their instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war; and that, should either of the parties refuse a compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

† A little before their departure, some Rhodian ambassadors arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the divisions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them, and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in a few words, that they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

‡ He said these words, but harboured a very different design; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that, it would henceforward be his interest to keep up an enmity, and occasion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched towards Memphis, and

\* Liv. l. xlv. n. 19. Polyb. Leg. xc.

† Polyb. Leg. lxxxiv.

‡ Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.

gave Philometor, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at last to wake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antiochus's design ; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium, entirely opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his brother and himself should be reduced so low as to be unable to make the least resistance ; and, that then, both would fall victims to his ambition. The instant, therefore, that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother that he desired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoken from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But, he was far from entertaining such thoughts ; and I before observed, that he concealed, beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have reduced each other by a war.

\* The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigor, sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only 1000 foot, under the command of Lycortas ; and 200 horse, under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising 1000 mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates, to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs ; but, that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been, the year before, with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him ; the consul thanked him, and said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies ; and, therefore, that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides, that as the league was able, without the last inconveniency, to levy 30 or 40,000 men ; consequently, so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes, would not lessen their strength ; that, the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings ; that, it would be the highest ingratitude in them to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians ; and, that their refusal, on this occasion, would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

\* Polyb. Leg. lxxxix—xci.

It therefore was held, some time after, in Sicyon ; and, as the members were upon the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus, and, in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

\* The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly, he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island ; at the same time, he marched at the head of a very powerful land army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometor, who told him, that their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus ; that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing fire and sword ; but, on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions, of which he had, till then, been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever ; assuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

The time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hostilities ; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed ; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched toward Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He would certainly have succeeded in his enterprise, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, which broke all the measures he had been so long taking, in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at Eleusine,† which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then, raising his voice ; “ Answer,” says he, “ the senate, before you stir out of that circle.” The king, quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moments reflection, replied, that he would act

\* A. M. 5836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xlv. n. 11—13. Polyb. Leg. xcii.

† Turnebius and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Livy, “ Eleusinam” instead of Leusinam.”

according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities; and behaved afterwards, in all respects, as an old friend. \* How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiments and expression! The Roman, with a few words, strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was, the news that arrived just before, of the great victory gained by the Romans, over Perseus, king of Macedonia. From that instant, every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned, with his colleagues, to Alexandria, where he signed the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then crossed into Cyprus; sent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who laid a just claim to it; and, returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there, almost at the same time. The former said, "That the peace which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the most splendid conquests; and, that he had obeyed the commands of the Roman ambassadors as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods." How groveling, and, at the same time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain, "That the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra thought themselves bound, in as great obligations, to the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and even to the gods; having been delivered, by the protection which Rome had granted them, from a very grievous siege, and re-established on the throne of their ancestors, of which they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered, "That Antiochus acted wisely, in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and, that the people and senate of Rome were pleased with him for it." Methinks this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered, "That the senate were very much pleased with the opportunity of doing them some service; and, that they would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship and protection of the Romans, as the most solid support of their kingdom." The prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

### SECTION III.

ANTIOCHUS'S PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE JEWS.—HIS ARMIES LOSE SEVERAL VICTORIES.—IS STRUCK BY THE HAND OF GOD.

† ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through

\* *Quam efficax est animi sermonisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti texit.* Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4.

† A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168, 1 Maccab. l. 30—40. and ii. ver. 24—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

Palestine, he detached 22,000 men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave, in any manner, as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first day of the sabbath before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and paying their religious worship to the Creator, he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received; and, setting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigor. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, insomuch, that every part of the city streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered, and fire set to several parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the houses as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a good place of arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence, the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple; and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to both morning and evening sacrifices; not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

\*As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages; to profess the same religion with the king; and, to worship the same gods, and after the same manner as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced, nevertheless, chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution, and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seemed not to have been affected with the change of their worship, or gods; they, however, were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court, than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired, that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular,† might, henceforwards, be consecrated to the Grecian Jupiter, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously, and ordered Nicanor, deputy governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter, as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

\* 1 Maccab. i. 41—64. and 2 Maccab. vi. 1—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

† They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel, "Jehovah," was never uttered by the Jews.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God, and their law, in this trial. Several Jews, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination and libertinism, changed also their religion. From these different motives, many fell from Israel;\* and, several of those, who had once taken this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became, as is but too common, greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren, than the heathens themselves, employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The intendant, who was sent into Judea and Samaria, to see the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Atheneus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry; who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the sabbaths, and other festivals; forbid the circumcision of children; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law, wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God, in every part of the country; and, put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner, in every part of the nation, altars and chapels, filled with idols, were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over these, who caused all the people in general, to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

† One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father, Asmoneus, the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God, as himself. These were Joannan, surnamed Gaddis; Simon, surnamed Thasi; Judas, surnamed Maccabeus; Eleazar, called Abaron; and Jonathan, called Apphus. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes, that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised, that in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and, that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that, † though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances; yet himself, his

\* 1 Macab. vi. 21—24. † 1 Maccab. ii. 1—39. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

† *Etsi omnes gentis regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque a servitute legis patrum suorum. et consentiat mandatis ejus; ego, et filii mei, et fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.*

children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there, in obedience to the king's injunction ; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a just and holy indignation,\* he fell upon the apostate and killed him. After this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner, and all his followers. Having, in a manner, thrown up the standard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city ; † "Whoever is zealous of the law,‡ and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me." As he now had assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they were soon followed by others ; so that all the deserts of Judea were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

|| At first, when the Jews were attacked on the sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day, they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. However, they soon became sensible, that the law of the sabbath was not binding to persons in such imminent danger as themselves.

§ Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not so implicitly obeyed in Judea as in all other nations, went thither in person, in order to see them put in execution. He then exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion ; in order to force the rest, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them.¶ At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar ; of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, they appear to me so important, and relate so nearly to Antiochus, whose life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of scripture.

The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many to fall away ; but, on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the most illustrious among these. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious death, to a criminal life, went voluntarily to execution ; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat ; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command ; and by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering only what great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and

\* God had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xiii. ver. 6—11.

† Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.

‡ 1 Maccab. vii. 27.

|| 1 Maccab. ii. 31—41. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

• § A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. and v.

¶ 2 Maccab. vi. and vii.

the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired from him. "It would be shameful," says he to them, "for me at this age, to use such an artifice, as many young men, upon the supposition, that Eleazar, at fourscore and ten years of age, had embraced the principles of the heathens, would be imposed upon by such deceit, which I should have employed to preserve the short remains of a corruptible life; and thereby I should dishonour my old age, and expose it to the curses of all men. Besides, supposing I should by that means avoid the punishment of men, I could never fly from the hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, nor in that which is to come. For this reason, if I lay down my life courageously, I shall appear worthy of old age; and still leave behind me for the imitation of young people, an example of constancy and resolution, by suffering patiently an honourable death, for the sake of our venerable and holy laws." Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech, but he was dragged to execution. The officers who tended him, and who, hitherto, had behaved with some humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had said, which, they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breathe his last, he vented a deep sigh, and said, "O Lord! thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge, thou seest that I, who could have delivered myself from death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body; but in my soul find joy in my sufferings, because I fear thee." Thus died this holy man; leaving, by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time, seven brothers, with their mother, were seized; and king Antiochus would force them to eat swine's flesh contrary to their law, by causing their bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But the eldest of the brethren said to him, "What is it thou wouldst ask or have of us? We are ready to lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy laws which God gave to our forefathers." The king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and caldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoke first to be cut off; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought close to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying, "The Lord God will have regard to truth; he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses declares in his song."

The first dying in this manner, the second was taken; and, after the hair of his head, with the skin, were torn away, he was asked whether he would eat of some meats which were presented to him; otherwise, that all his limbs should be severed from his body. But he answered, in the language of his country, "I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the same manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king; "Wicked prince, you bereave us of this terrestrial life; but, the king of heaven and earth, if we die for the defence of his laws, will one day raise us up to everlasting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and, afterwards, stretching for his hands, with the utmost tranquillity of mind, he bravely said, "I received these limbs from heaven, but I now despise them, since I am to defend



"the laws of God ; from the sure and steadfast hopes, that he will one day restore them to me." The king, and all his followers, were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who scorned the utmost efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner ; and, being ready to die, he said to the monarch, " It is for our advantage to be killed by men, because we hope that God will restore us to life at the resurrection ; but you, O king, will never rise to life."

The fifth, whilst they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus, " You now act according to your own will and pleasure, because you are invested with absolute human power, though you are but a mortal man. But, do not imagine that God has forsaken our nation. Stay but a little, and you will see the wondrous effects of his power, and in what manner he will torment yourself and your race."

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired, said, " Do not deceive yourself ; it is true, indeed, our sins have drawn upon us the exquisite tortures which we now suffer ; but do not flatter yourself with the hopes of impunity, after having presumed to make war against God himself."

In the mean time, their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in God, beheld, with incredible resolution, all her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetic discourse ; and, uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them, " I know not in what manner you were formed in my womb ; for it was not I who inspired you with a soul, and with life, nor formed your members ; but, I am sure that the Creator of the world, who fashioned man, who gave being to all things, will one day restore you to life by his infinite mercy, in return for your having despised it here, out of the love you bear to his laws."

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance ; assuring, him with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power, and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire the child with salutary counsels. This she promised ; and, going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty, she said to him, in her native language, " Son, have pity on me ; on me, who bore you nine months in my womb ; who, for three years, fed you with milk from my breasts, and brought you up ever since. I conjure you, dear child, to look upon heaven and earth, and every thing they contain ; and, firmly to believe that God formed them all as well as man. Fear not that cruel executioner ; but show yourself worthy of your brethren, by submitting cheerfully to death ; in order that, by the mercy of God, I may receive you, together with your brothers, in the glory which awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud, " What is it you expect from me ? I do not obey the king's command, but the law which was given us by Moses. As to you, from whom all the calamities with which the Hebrews have been afflicted, flow, you shall not escape the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings, indeed, are owing to our sins ; but, if the Lord our God, to punish us, was, for a little time angry with us, he at last will be appeased, and be reconciled to his servants. But, as for you, the most wicked, the most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with vain hopes. You shall not escape the judgment of the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. As to my

" brothers, after having suffered a moment, the most cruel tortures, they taste eternal joys. In imitation of the example they have set me, I freely give up my body and life, for the laws of my forefathers ; and, I beseech God to extend his mercy soon to our nation ; to force you by wounds and tortures of every kind, to confess that he is the only God ; and, that his anger, which is justly fallen on the Hebrews, may end by my death, and that of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in God. At last, the mother also suffered death.

\* Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons ; and, after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died and was interred at Modin, in the burying place of his ancestors, all the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.

† Antiochus finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus, and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Daphne, near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, answered, in every respect, to the character given of him by Daniel,‡ who calls him a vile or contemptible man, as I have said elsewhere. He there did so many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing stock of them all ; and, many of them were so much disgusted, that to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feasts to which he invited them.

|| He had scarce ended the solemnization of these games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived, as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment with respect to what had happened in Alexandria ; but, even blamed those who spread such reports of him. And, indeed, Antiochus, beside other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus, and his train ; and, was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these caresses ; for, it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself of the Romans ; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

§ Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judea. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius,

\* A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12.

† Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 321.

‡ Dan. xi. 21.

|| Polyb. Leg. 101—104. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322.

§ 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10.

who was governor of Samaria, under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress; and, accordingly, marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately, he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But, when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expenses he had lately been at. For want of money, he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation, and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

\* He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect; particularly, in the presents he had bestowed on particular persons, and whole bodies of men. He would often throw his money abundantly among his attendants, and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason. On these occasions, he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should † “scatter among them the prey and spoil of riches;” and, the author of the *Maccabees*‡ says, that he had been exceedingly liberal, and had “abounded above the kings that were before him.” We are told by Atheneus,|| that the circumstances which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expense, were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometor in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends, by way of free gifts; lastly, which was the most considerable article, the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously invaded.

§ Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel’s prophecy, from the “tidings” which came to him “out of the east, and out of the north;” for, northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. ¶ There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance by which the ancient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished, and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These things occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments, which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied sums sufficient to defray the great expenses it was necessary to be at.

\*\* To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts; to give the command of one of his armies to Lysias, descended from the blood royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews; and, to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to reinstate the affairs of those provinces in their former

\* Joseph Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

† Dan. xi. 24.

‡ 1 Maccab. iii. 30.

|| Athen. l. v. p. 195.

§ Dan. xi. 44. et Hieron. in hunc. locum.

¶ 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

\*\* 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. and iv. 1—25. 2 Maccab. viii. 8—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lysias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates ; and the care of his son's education, who afterwards was called Antiochus Eupator.\* After passing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself, that he should there find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a footing as ever.

Whilst he was forming all these projects, Lysias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country ; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength, by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judea, seeing Judas's success, had sent expresses, with advice of this to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Coelosyria and Palestine, on which Judea depended, and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign, in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lysias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken, to send an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judea. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant general ; sent him before, at the head of 20,000 men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. It consisted of 40,000 foot, and 7000 horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants, who came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay the 2000 talents,† which the king still owed the Romans, on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the prisoners taken in that war, should be sold, at the rate of 90 for a talent.‡ A resolution, indeed, had been taken to cut to pieces all the men grown ; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity ; and 180,000 of the latter, at the price above mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them, as it was a very low price, flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that 1000, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domestics, and the persons they should want, to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were

\* He was then but seven years old.

† About 300,000 pounds sterling.

‡ 1000 crowns.

threatened by the approach of so powerful an army, which they knew had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence ; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty ; and, either to conquer or die sword in hand. Accordingly, they divided the 6000 men under their command, into four bodies of 1500 men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, because, as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trampled upon, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act ; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

\* Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each side very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so. † They agree, however, in one point ; that is, both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory ; the one, because they have a mighty army of well disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals ; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made, according to the ‡ law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire ; Judas's 6000 men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless, this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy, with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to Providence ; advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and, therefore, that they must prepare for it.

But, receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp, with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, all chosen troops ; and, that he was marching a by way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprise his camp in the night ; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of the very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it ; for, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched, and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it, and spread such terror and confusion into every part of it, that, after 3000 Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together, and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful, without coming to a battle ; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the mountains, whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew, at last, into his camp ; and, finding it in a blaze, and his soldiers straggling and flying away, it was impossible for him to keep them in order ; so that these threw down their arms, and fled also. Then Judas, and the men under his command, pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number, on this occasion, than they had before done in the

\* Judges xx. 1.

† 1 Reg. vii. 5.

‡ Deut. xx. 5, &amp;c.

camp. Nine thousand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who fled, were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense booty; and, great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themselves taken prisoners and sold. The next day, being the sabbath, was solemnized in the most religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occasion, gave themselves up to an holy joy, and unanimously returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and signal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a sensible image of the feeble opposition which the human arm is able to make against that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battles depends. It is evident, that Judas was fully sensible of his own weakness. "How can we," says he to the Almighty, before the battle, "stand before them, unless thou thyself assistest us?" And it is as evident, that he was no less firmly persuaded of the success of his arms. "The victory" he had said before, "does not depend on the number of soldiers, but it is from heaven that all our strength comes." But, although Judas had so entire a confidence in God, he employs all those expedients which the most experienced and bravest general could use, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! To pray with humility, because all things depend on God; and, to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man. We are still possessed, thanks to the Almighty, of generals, who believe it glorious to entertain such thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, composed of as brave soldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almost unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all those human advantages, but solely on the protection of the God of armies.

\* Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a great number of troops, whom this success brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him, to distress the rest of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of 20,000 of their men.

† Lysias, hearing of the ill success which Antiochus's arms had met with in Judea, and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly, he levied an army of 60,000 foot, and 5000 horse, all chosen troops; and, putting himself at their head, he marched into Judea, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Jerusalem, towards the frontiers of Idumea. Judas advanced towards him at the head of 10,000 men; and, fully persuaded that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with his inconsiderable body of troops, killed 5000 of them, and put the rest to flight. Lysias, dismayed at the surprising valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch; intending, nevertheless, to come and attack them again the next year, with a still more powerful body of forces.

\* 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.

† A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joseph. Antiq. J. xii. c. 11.

\* Judas, being left master of the field, by the retreat of Lysias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the service of God. This solemn dedication continued a week, all which was spent in thanksgiving, for the delivery which God had vouchsafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniversary of it should be solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them; and, resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

† This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which, Polybius says, was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus, according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither with a design to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jerusalem; but, his design having taken vent, the country people, and the inhabitants of the city, took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunderstruck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus, in Judea. In the violence of his rage, he set out, with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march, and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him, with advice of Lycias's defeat; and, also that the Jews had re-taken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately, he commands his coachman to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the cholick. "Thus the murderer and blasphemer," says the author of the Maccabees, "having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death, in a strange country, in the mountain."

But still, his pride was not abated by this first shock; so far from it, that, suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But, as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piecemeal; and, the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it; ‡ "It is meet," says he, "to be subject unto God; and man, who is mortal, should not think of himself, as if he were a god." Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jesusa-

\* 1 Maccab. iv. 36—61. et. v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

† A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

‡ 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

lem, he promises to exert his utmost liberality towards his chosen people ; to enrich, with precious gifts, the holy temple of Jerusalem, which he had plundered ; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expense of the sacrifices ; to turn Jew himself ; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. " But," adds the author in question,\* " this wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have " mercy upon him." And, indeed, this murderer and blasphemer, these are the names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of illustrious, which men had bestowed on that prince, being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death.†

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy ; was his favourite, and had bestowed on him the regency of Syria, during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty ; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children, till they are near their end ; and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had sat eleven years on the throne.

## SECTION IV.

### PROPHECIES OF DANIEL RELATING TO ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewish church ; and was, at the same time, the type of the antichrist, who, in after ages, was to afflict the christian church ; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince, than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy consists of two parts ; one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

#### 1. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

† " And in his," Seleucus Philopator's " estate, shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom ; but, he shall " come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

\* 2 Maccab. c. 13

† Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates, that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium ; imagining that spectres stood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unacquainted with the scriptures, assigns, as the cause of this punishment, the sacrilegious attempt, formed by this prince against the temple of Diana, in Elymais. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

‡ Dan. xi. 21.



\* "And with the arms of a flood shall they," the Syrians, "be overflown before him," Antiochus Epiphanes, "and shall be broken; yea, also, the prince of the covenant." Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus, and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the "prince of the covenant," we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ringleader of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather, Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, when he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus, Providence removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verses, points out, clearly enough, the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

#### ANTIOCHUS'S FIRST EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

† "And after the league made with him," with Ptolemy Philometor, his nephew, king of Egypt "he shall work deceitfully; for, he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people." Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war; "he yet shall assume a specious appearance of friendship for the king of Egypt." He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless, soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt, with a "small army" in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus "was strongest," that is victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

#### ANTIOCHUS'S SECOND EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

† "He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province," Egypt; "and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers; he shall scatter among them," his troops, "the prey, and spoil, and riches; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.

‖ "And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south," of Egypt, "with a great army; and, the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle, with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand; for, they shall forecast devices against him."

§ "Yea, they that feed of the portion of his," the king of Egypt's, "meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and, many shall fall down slain."

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Antiochus's second expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to practise with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. ¶ "Wherefore he entered into Egypt with

\* Ver. 22.

‖ Ver. 25.

† Dan. xi. 23.

§ Ver. 26.

‡ Dan. xi. 24.

¶ 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19.

"a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy. And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt; but, Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and, many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof."

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute in his prophecy of this event.

\* "And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him," Ptolemy is here hinted at; "and the king of the north," Antiochus, shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow; and pass over.

† "He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.

‡ "He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

§ "But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over the precious things of Egypt," &c.

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the historian.

§ Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it; for, all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt, with an astonishing rapidity, and did that, ¶ "which his forefathers had not done, nor his fathers' fathers."

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus; who at first, treated him with kindness; had but one table with him, seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it. For, Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. \*\* "They that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him."

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor, for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Evergetes, his younger brother, to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

#### ANTIOCHUS'S THIRD EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

†† "And both these king's hearts shall be to do mischief; and they shall speak lies at one table; but, it shall not prosper; for yet, the end shall be at the time appointed.

\* Dan. xi. 40.

§ Ver. 43.

¶ Dan. xi. 24.

† Ver. 41.

§ In Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

\*\* Ver. 26.

‡ Ver. 42.

¶

†† Ver. 27.

\* "Then shall he," Antiochus, "return into his land with great riches."

Antiochus's third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt, upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometor; † *Per honestam speciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum*. After having overcome the Alexandrians in a sea fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria; but, finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself master of Egypt again, in the name of his nephew, in whose defence he pretended to have drawn the sword; ‡ *Cui regnum queri suis viribus simulabat*. They were then at Memphis, ate at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have his nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle; but, all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew; || *Cui regnum queri suis viribus simulabat, ut mox victorem aggrediretur*; and, the nephew, who saw through his design, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus*, strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus, neither succeeded in deceiving of the other; nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

#### ANTIOCHUS'S FOURTH EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT.

§ "At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south; but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.

¶ "For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant."

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled; he threw off the mask, and declared publicly, that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself; and, to support his pretensions, "he returned towards the south," that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before, \*\*As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria, Popilius, and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships, for this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies, which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but "with the utmost reluctance, "and made the city and temple of Jerusalem feel the dire effects of his "indignation," as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

#### 2. CRUEL PERSECUTIONS EXERCISED BY ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS, AND FORETOLD BY THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I have mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

†† "Behold, an he goat came from the west, on the face of the whole "earth, and touched not the ground." Could it have been possible to de-

28. † Liv. l. xlv. n. 19.

v. n. 11. Hieron. in Dan.

29. ¶ Ver. 30. \*\* Liv. l. xlv. n. 10.

|| Liv. ibid.

†† Dan. viii. 5.

note more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests? \* "The he goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven." These are Alexander's four successors. † "And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land." This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the south and the east, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

‡ "And it waxed great," the horn, "even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. ¶ Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host," to God; "and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. § And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice, by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered."

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy, in his eleventh chapter.

¶ "His heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits. He shall return, and have indignation against the holy covenant."

\*\* During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About 40,000 men †† were killed, and the same number sold as slaves, in the compass of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and rich ornaments.

‡‡ After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judea, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly, Apollonius made dreadful havoc in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

||| "He shall return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate. And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries," &c.

§§ Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general, were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They raised, in every

\* Dan. viii. 8.

† Ver. 9.

‡ Ver. 10.

¶ Ver. 11.

§ Ver. 12.

¶ Dan. xi. 28—30.

\*\* 1 Maccab. i. 21—24 and ii. 5—21. Joseph. Lib. de Maccab. &c.

†† We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

‡‡ 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. and ii. 24—26.

||| Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32.

§§ 1 Maccab. i. xliii. &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vi. 1, &c.

part of the city, profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meat sacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply, in all things required from them; and even prompted others to countenance their base apostacy.

\* "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, "shall" Antiochus "corrupt by flatteries; but, the people that do know their God, shall be "strong, and do exploits." This manifestly points at old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees, and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

† "And they that understand, among the people, shall instruct many; "yet, they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by "spoil, many days." This relates chiefly to Mattathias and his sons.

‡ "Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help; "but many shall cleave to them with flatteries." Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms, no otherwise than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

|| "And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to "purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because "it is yet for a time appointed." The sufferings and death of those, who stedfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

§ "And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvelous "things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be "accomplished; for that that is determined shall be done.

¶ "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god; for, he shall magnify himself above all."

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink, for a time, at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

\*\* "But tidings out of the east, and out of the north, shall trouble him; "therefore, he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to "make away many."

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the east, and Artaxias, king of Armenia, to the north, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus†† tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. ‡‡ Before he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lysias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom, in his absence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.

||| "He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace," §§ in Apadno, "between

\* Dan. xi. 32.

† Ver. 33.

‡ Ver. 34.

¶ Ver. 35.

§ Ver. 36.

¶ Ver. 37.

\*\* Dan. xi. 44.

†† Antiochus demere superstitionem, et mores Græcorum dare admixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est; nam ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat. Tacit. l. v. c. 8.

‡‡ 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39.

||| Dan. xi. 45.

§§ N. B. The words not quoted in this verse, are not in our English translation of the bible.

the seas in the glorious holy mountain" of Zabi ; " yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him." This verse, which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words *Apadno* and *Zabi*, which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined, that this verse alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates ; and, to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters ; and, therefore, we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet, therefore, declares, that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount Zabi, doubtless the same with \* *Taba* ; where, according to Polybius,† he died ; and, that there he " shall come to his end," being abandoned by God, and having none to " help him." We have seen how he expired in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes, in another sense, as alluding to antichrist. It is certain, that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible, as well as most expressive types of that enemy of Christ Jesus, and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiously struck, to see the justness and accuracy, with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews ; and, we perceive evidently, that for this reason, the Holy Spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances ! How manifestly did the spirit, which presented futurity to his view, show it him as present, and in as clear a light, as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes ! Do not the divine authority of the Scriptures, and, by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the christian religion, become, by such proofs, in a manner, palpable, and self-evident ?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so indisputable a manner, as this. Porphyry,‡ the professed enemy of the christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to show, in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet ; and, he concluded, from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events, could not possibly have been written by Daniel,

\* *Taba*, according to Polybius, was in Persia ; and in Paretacena, according to Quintus Curtius.

† Polyb. in Excerpt. Valer. p. 145.

‡ Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233, and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the christian religion.

so many years before they happened ; and, that this work must certainly have been written by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the christians and heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause could they be able to demonstate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now, this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews, whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the christian religion than the heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was so prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in it. What idea then, would they have entertained of that man, who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in them? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious? \* "Thy testimonies are very sure ; O Lord, for ever."

\* Psal. xciii. 5.

# BOOK XIX.

## THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

### CONTINUED.

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#### PLAN.

THIS nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first, the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burned in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than 21 years. The third article contains the history of Syria, and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together: That of Syria continued almost 100 years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also 100 years from the 20th year of Ptolemæus Philometor, till the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

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#### ARTICLE I.

**T**HIS article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826, to 3837.

#### SECTION I.

PERSEUS PREPARES FOR WAR AGAINST THE ROMANS.—HE ENDEAVOURS A  
RECONCILIATION WITH THE ACHÆANS.

\* THE death of Philip happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already began to put it in execution; which was, to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Sarmatia, part of Poland. Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce; they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After having passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every

\* A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 178. Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oros. l. iv. c. 20.



favourable occasion for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it; if it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in seeing himself delivered from the Dardanians, by their means; and, if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befel them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonius, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will, in negotiating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death; and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans, to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king; His sole intent was to gain time.

\* Part of the Bastarnæ had pursued their route, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself, by his ambassadors, and represented, that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprise. The senate, without making any further inquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed, inviolably, the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them, at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

† It was known at Rome, that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of *Æsculapius*. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia, to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the ‡ Dolopians, who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition, he advanced towards Delphos, upon pretence of consulting the oracle; but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey, at first, alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent, either ambassadors, or circular letters, to all the states through which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them, by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves, who fled from

\* A. M. 3829. Ant J C. 175. Freinsheim in Liv.

† A. M. 3850. Ant J C. 174. Liv. l. xli. n. 27—29.

‡ Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum; and knew they should not be followed, or claimed, after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was, at that time, in office, and desired to make his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those, who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome, as soon as possible. He concluded, that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should explain whether their fears were just or not; that, if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough when that appeared, to re-establish commerce with them; without which, an re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Archon, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Calicrates, did his utmost to prove that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree, for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that in case of a war against the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But," added he, "whilst the peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend them, and to let them sleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter, he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

\* The ambassadors, sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; a double evasion, equally false; that for the rest, it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders; and, that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased, as much as possible, the troubles of

Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and, those of his own dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes, in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother; and, of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects; and, by his generous propensity to do good, and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state, whose origin was wholly recent, and which they had seen take birth; or, that the Greeks had some change in view; or, because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

\* Perseus, was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of separating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribands to every soldier and seaman, who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome, in favour of the Lycians, against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take the advantage of their resentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

† The Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken, by Perseus, to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expressly to Rome, to inform them at large, of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment, which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage, expressly, to advise the senate, in person, to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans, as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed, in a manner, fallen to him in right of succession; that the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the sight, and under the conduct of his father, and had since much exercised himself in different enterprises against his neighbours. That he was highly

\* *Plyb. Leg.* 60, 61.

† *A. M.* 3832. *Ant. J. C.* 172. *Liv. l. xlii. n. 11—14.*

considered by the cities of Greece and Asia, without seeming to have any sort of merit to support such credit, except his enmity for the Romans ; that he was upon as good terms with powerful kings ; that he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Beotians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over ; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons, well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perseus the Æolians applied for aid, in their domestic troubles, and not to the Romans. That supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations for war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. That he had 30,000 foot, 5000 horse, and provisions for ten years. That, besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay 10,000 foreign troops, for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his kingdom. That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies, as great as that he had actually on foot ; and that, though Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts founded upon the best information. " For the rest," said he, in concluding, " having discharged the duty, which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoken, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first ; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master, and what Harpalus, one of them, said in his speech, inflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed, upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy ; that, as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia, than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatic people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate ; and, had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed, in consequence, with the highest honours, and great presents.

\* Harpalus, having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not sorry upon that account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprized of his most secret measures; and began, with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He despatched Evander, of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him, upon like occasions to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged, when he was in that city. They lay in ambush, in a narrow defile, where two men could not pass abreast. When the king came there, the assassins rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without sense, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which, they poured an hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one, who staid to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers found him, when they returned, without motion, and almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds; but, with so much secrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber, which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too soon for a good brother; and, looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sense of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted, at the same time, to poison him, by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundisium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed through that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle poison, for him to give Eumenes, when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse this commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but, he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince, who made use of assassinations and poison, to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprise.

Two ambassadors, who arrived at Rome, about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son, whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by

the conversation and study of their great men ; and, he desired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shown him, and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him, at the expense of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

\* As soon as Eumenes was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped ; and despatched others, at the same time, to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors, seeing that they could not have audience for many days, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip, his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches ; taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws, as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him ; that, if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne ; that, if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately ; and, the ambassadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them, in a menacing tone, that they should take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy ; and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia, through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors, that had been sent to the kings, their allies, reported, that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus ; and, deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty galleys, to sail as soon as possible, for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus, and C. Cassius Longinus, were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell, by lot, to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred against Perseus ; and, still more, by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother ; and hoped, if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality, at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to rid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace to the party Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt ; relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Cœlosyria with him ; and, that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious designs. He had, however, declared to the senate, by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable to resolve for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœlosyria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan, and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely ; in which case, he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him, out of policy, from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing, however, which party he should choose ; and, it seemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice, and by chance, than from any fixed plan, or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings, with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority, amongst those people, were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that, by their blind devotion to them, they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens ; and, of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government ; most of them having no views, but to their private interest, convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those, who gave entirely in to the king's measures ; some, because their debts, and the bad state of their affairs, made them desire a change ; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus

valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans' to the king's; but, had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied, that neither of the parties should become too powerful, by reducing the other; and, preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace; because, then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality, they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those, who had engaged in either party.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprise they had been so long preparing for, declared war in form, against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction, in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said, that the king their master, was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia with his army; and that, if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him; but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and, for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

\* The Romans omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They despatched ambassadors on all sides, to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them; to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain; and, to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa, in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoke of king Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus, for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had, besides, a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king, and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties, which arose about the ceremonial, and were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedence, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends, bound in the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom



he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes; and, concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse; and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am assured," \* said he, in concluding, "that my conscience does not reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, and with premeditated design, against the Romans; and, if I have done any thing unwarily, apprized as I now am, it is in my power to amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to deserve the implacable enmity with which I am pursued, as guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes, and neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It must be without foundation, that the clemency and wisdom of the Roman people is universally extolled, if, for such slight causes, as scarce merit complaint and remonstrance, they take up arms, and make war upon kings in alliance with them."

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last, to give in to it, only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas, on the side of Perseus, every thing was ready; and, if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview, the Roman ambassadors advanced into Beotia, where there had been great commotions; some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length, the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Beotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each, by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation, according to ancient custom. In this manner the Beotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed, through a long course of time, a republic, which, on several occasions, had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils, as there were cities in the province; all of which, in the sequel, remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league, as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them, to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them, by that means, than if their union subsisted. No other

\* *Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse; et si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me et emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis, commissi; aut frustra clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querela et expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, et regibus sociis bella inferitis. Liv.*

cities in Beotia, except Coronca and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Beotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only 1000 men, to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

\* About the same time, Rome sent new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time prytanis, the principal magistrate was so called, had prepared the people, by representing to them, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions, with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans, in regard to their fidelity; so that upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they showed them a fleet of forty ships, entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprise was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome, to treat there, upon what had been proposed in that conference. He despatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced, at large, the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians, in particular, to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators only, till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take. "If, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, they attack me, you will be," said he, "the mediators between the two nations. All the world is interested in their continuing to live in peace, and it behoves none more than you to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders, not only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece, the more zeal and ardour you have for so great a good, the more ought you to be upon your guard against whomsoever should attempt to inspire you with different sentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means† to reduce Greece into slavery, is to make it dependent upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have recourse to." The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, that in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them, in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors went also into Beotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied; only a few small cities‡ separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus, by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dis-

\* Liv. l. xlii. n. 45—48. Polyb. Leg. 64—68.

† Cum catorum id interesse, tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant, quæ serva atque obnoxia fore, si nullos alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus. Liv.

‡ Coronca and Haliartus.

solving the general assembly of the Beotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed great satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old senators, who had imbibed other principles; and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, they did not see the Roman character sustained in such dealing. That their ancestors, relying more upon true valor than fraud, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That, indeed, stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valor; but, that a victory, obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some galleys into Greece, to regulate affairs, as he should think most consistent with the service of the public; and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa, lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Beotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things which had been said in the interview with Marcius; and, endeavoured to justify their master, principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention; and the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march, as soon as possible, with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with 45 galleys from Cephalonia, and arrived, in five days, at Naples, where he was to wait for the land forces.

## SECTION II.

LICINIUS AND PERSEUS TAKE THE FIELD.—THE LATTER HAS AT FIRST CONSIDERABLY THE ADVANTAGE.

\* THE consul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the capitol, set out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of the people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every particular might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiosity to see the general, to whose prudence and valor the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves, at that time, to

their minds, upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories, for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage of their generals. "What mortal," said they, "can know the fate of a consul, at his departure; whether we shall see him with his victorious army, return in triumph to the capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and, every body knew, that from his succession to the crown, a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius, and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army, in quality of military tribunes, or as colonels or brigadiers; and went with him; as did P. Lentulus, and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and, passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing supportable, for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction; that, if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition, not only to recover all he had lost, but to render him formidable to those, who, at present, made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of a part, he must determine to lose all his kingdom; that it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire; that they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires, were subject to frequent revolutions; that they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa; that they had driven Antiochus, and his son, beyond mount Taurus; that there was no kingdom but Macedonia; to give umbrage to, or make head against the Romans; that prudence required Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask, as a favour, of the Romans, permission to retire, and confine himself in Samothracia, or in some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire; or, whether he would choose to hazard, in arms, all the dangers of the war, in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and, in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy; besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother, with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp the crown, to resign it meanly to strangers, who endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed,

that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without resistance, nor more laudable than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

The council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. "Since you think it so necessary," said the king, "let us make war then, with the help of the gods." He gave orders, at the same time, to his generals; to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went, soon after, himself, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to 39,000 foot, of whom, almost half composed the phalanx, and 4000 horse. It was agreed, that since the army, Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans; and as, during all that time, Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth, capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars Macedonia had supported against the Thracians, their neighbours. Philip, besides, and Perseus after him, had long before formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that, at the time we speak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne, therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but, that design, a sudden death had prevented him from putting into execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him; and, at the same time, marched troops into Greece, to take possession of the strongest places; that, afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him, during all the winter, with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his sense, was much superior to the other, not only in the number and valor of their troops, but in ammunition and provisions of war, laid up with infinite care, during a great number of years. "It remains, therefore, Macedonians," said he, in concluding, "only to act with the same courage your ancestors showed, when, having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed into Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests, than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the east, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered that unjust war with the false pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear, that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor, that any warlike nation should have arms for its defence; for, you may be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms, with your king and his kingdom to them."

At these words, the whole army, which had expressed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation,

exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving, for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages for the battering rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of mount Ceta; the consul's was at Gomphi, in Thessaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impracticable. The Romans themselves confessed, that, had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time, Eumenes arrived at Chalcis, with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus; Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with 4000 foot and 1000 horse. They had left Athenæus, with 2000 foot, at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, though in numbers sufficiently inconsiderable, and some galleys. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes, that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprise and attack him to advantage; but, he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council, at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Phereans without opposition, thought it advisable to go and attack the Romans, in their camp, without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, Eumenes and Attalus being present, a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them the enemy were very near, with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and one hundred horse detached, with as many of the light armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a small half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light armed soldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced, with all his troops, to the same place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place; the way was

very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their intrenchments the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear guard; and, when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry, in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about 1000 paces from the enemy, he advanced, at the head of his cavalry and light armed foot, towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which flew nearer than usual, and was raised by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first who brought the news, could scarcely believe that the enemy was so near; because, for several days before, they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun, at that time, was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than 500 paces from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his nation; the light armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing, the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the centre with the horse that always attended his person; before whom, were placed the slingers and archers, to about 400 in number.

The consul having drawn up his foot in the battle array, within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre, with a select body of horse; 200 Gallic horse, and 300 of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front; 400 Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reserve body. King Eumenes, and his brother Attalus, with their troops, were posted in the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about 4000 on each, without including the light armed troops. The action began with slings and missive weapons, which were posted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long shut up, and thereby the more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid, as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of

the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action, had been only spectators of the battle, was of great service when that wing gave way; for, those horse retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled, and were dispersed; and, when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor come to blows with them.

Hippias, and Leonatus having learned the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their intrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared, indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and, in the present ardour of his troops, and terror, into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself, between hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander of Crete,\* in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a new action, that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or, if he should choose to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who, till then, had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return to the camp.

The Romans lost 2000 of their light armed infantry, at least, in this battle, and had 200 of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side, only 20 of their cavalry, and 40 foot soldiers, were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; especially the Thracians, who with songs of triumph, carried the heads of those they had killed upon the ends of their pikes; it was to them Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow, kept a mournful silence; and filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panic. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but, however, being convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, passed with his troops, by favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced, the next day, to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them intrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enor-

\* Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.



mous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately, upon their defeat ; but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive, during the night ; for, without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light armed troops against the enemy, during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might, without difficulty, have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy ; it requires no great capacity, or penetration, to distinguish so gross a fault. But, how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken ? A notion is suggested to him, by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd ; but God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take quite different measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this ; but, the holy scripture teaches us to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event ; " And, no man saw it, nor " knew it, neither awaked ; for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep " from the Lord was fallen upon them." 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans, indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed ; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled ; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example ; and, that five of the chief of their nation, were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valor, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to 1500 bucklers, 1000 cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most ; and, having assembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was an happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms, expatiated upon the victory over the Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible ; and, promised himself from thence, a more considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight, during the night ; but, that it would be easy to force the intrenchments, in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valor, judging of the future by the past. The foot, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealousy, pretend-

ed, at least to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and passion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situated between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the good success of so important a battle, affected Perseus, at first, in all its extent. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who alone were so, in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by surprise, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address; but, carried by open force, and the valor and bravery of his troops, and that in his own sight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him, three times in one day; at first, in keeping close, out of fear, in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, in shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and, lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security, but by being inclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But, when his first transports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself; and, reflecting in cool blood upon all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, \* taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the counsel of which it made him capable; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That therefore, he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renovation of the treaty, upon the same conditions imposed by T. Quinctius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war, more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received, would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions; that if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would, at least, have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciousness of the Romans.

The king gave in to these wise remonstrances, to which he never was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him they came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman constancy showed itself upon this occasion, in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom,† at that time, to express in adversity, all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act

\* Polyb. Leg. 69.

† Ita tum mos erat in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis. Liv.

with moderation in prosperity. The answer was, that no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprised at so extraordinary, and, in their sense, so ill timed a pride; most of them believed it needless to talk any further of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, but from a consciousness of superiority; and, that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycyrium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions, than his father Philip had complied with, till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to success very ill, since, after a first action, entirely to his advantage, he begins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort, inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory showed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in full light, to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partisans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom, some suffered with pain, their haughty manners, and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius, at the same time, besieged the city of Haliartus in Beotia\*. After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble, harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took, one day, 1000 carriages, laden principally with sheaves of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made 600 prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops, in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master, with little or no difficulty; but, he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body of men was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who, retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops, rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance, with a great detachment of horse and light armed foot; the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were 800 men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx; but, the consul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to

\* Liv. l. xlii. n. 64—67.

blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance, for some time, were at last broke, and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with 24 of the best horse, of the troop called the sacred squadron, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action reanimated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul, having reduced Perrhæbia, and taken Larissa, and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter quarters; and went into Beotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coroneæ had made incursions.

### SECTION III.

**MARCIVS ENTERS MACEDONIA.—PERSEUS TAKES THE ALARM; BUT AFTERWARDS RESUMES COURAGE.**

\* NOTHING memorable passed the following year. The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria, with 4000 foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that country, as were allies of the Romans; and, the latter, had found means to add 8000 men, raised among the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a great garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way with dreadful slaughter. Of 11,000 men, scarce 2000 escaped into the camp, which 1000 had been left to guard. Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate, and the more, because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

† This was the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors, well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Popilius, and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found

\* A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. Liv. l. xliii. n. 9, 10.

† Polyb. Leg. 74. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

great divisions in almost all the cities, especially among the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions, which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these divisions; but, the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority, prevented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was, to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republic; and, to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen, who had not sufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed; and, it was resolved, that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain general of the horse.

About this time, Attalus, having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be sounded; who, determined in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit, with all his power. The affair in question was, to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the public places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration for the prince who sent them, Eumenes, his brother, should be restored to the honours the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

\* It was at this time Rome sent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions, during the kings being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how, and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but, he observed, that having neither munitions of war, nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand; and, sent a second embassy to him, without mention of money, and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expenses, which denotes a little, mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry; and that, if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he

\* A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l. xliii. n. 11. and 18—23. Polyb. Leg. 76, 77.

might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can such blindness be conceived in a rational creature ! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus, having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march, afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulph of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls ; but, the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring, the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured, that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

\* Upon the report that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and bad reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic ; and, to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, were charged with the embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhæbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the route it was necessary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

† Perseus, who did not know what route the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and countermarching without much design.

Marcius, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered part of the country, called Octolopha. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and impracticable ; he therefore seized an eminence, by way of precaution, to favour his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila, might be discovered ; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippas, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of 12,000 men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who advanced with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to pursue an undertaking with vigor ; formed, perhaps, with too much boldness and temerity, and which could not succeed without a determined perseverance, often crowned in the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia, in the narrow defile where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But

\* Polyb. Leg. lxxviii.

† Liv. l. xliv. n. 1—10.

Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Diium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad affair, in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this ; the horses laden with the baggage, sinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants, especially, gave them great trouble. It was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams they laid planks of thirty feet in length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, leaving some interval, they erected a second, then a third, and so on, to as many of the same kind as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams insensibly, that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge. He went on in that manner to the second, and all the rest. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, because it was impossible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.

\* As the consul seemed then to have entirely overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprise, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to assure him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good will in the kindest terms, told them, they might spare themselves the trouble and expense that war would give them ; that, he would dispense with both ; and that, in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse, Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army, till the consul having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of 5000 men, to be sent him into Epirus, despatched him home, with advice, not to suffer his republic to furnish those troops, or engage in expenses entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for sparing the Achæans, or laying a snare for them ; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power, to undertake any thing ?

While the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing, every moment, his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered, without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes ; sent the gilt statues† at Diium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans ; gave

\* Polyb. Leg. lxxviii.

† These were the statues of the horse soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lysippus, and to be set up in Diium.

orders that his treasures laid up at Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all his gallees at Thessalonica burned. For himself, he retired to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passing for him, but by two forests; by the one he might penetrate through the valleys of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia; and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons for the king. So that, if Perseus had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass for provisions to him; for the ways through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce sustain the view of them without dazzling. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men well armed, could alone have defended the entrance.

The Romans, therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy, having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia, which \* would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel; for, in making a fosse with intrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopped them short; but, in the blindness, into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither saw, nor did any thing of all the means in his power to save himself; left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, to secure a retreat, in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprised that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places, almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore, of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright, and resumed spirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures, at Pella, into the sea, and burn all his ships at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as, indeed, it happened. Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella

\* Quod nisi dii mentem regi ademissent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat. Liv.



into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost the whole money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, as he did Andronicus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence or importance.

\* When Polybius returned from his embassy into Peloponnesus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded 5000 men, had been received there. Some time after, the council assembled at Sicyon, to deliberate upon that affair, and gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means Polybius saved the Achæans the sum of 120,000 crowns at least.

† In the mean time arrived ambassadors at Rome, from Prusias, king of Bythia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that, having promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make such use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added, that whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that for three years, which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniences from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia, to king Perseus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to come into so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, all the answer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they

\* Polyb. *Leg.* lxxviii.

† *Liv.* l. xliv. n. 14—16.

pretended to an authority over both those people. Others say, the senate answered in few words, that the disposition of the Rhodians and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome; that when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that, by the wise precautions of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots 20,000 measures of wheat, and 10,000 of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome. That it was necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers; that he wanted 200 horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and, putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun, by withdrawing himself from his counsels, under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge among the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

#### SECTION IV.

ÆMILIUS'S CELEBRATED VICTORY NEAR THE CITY OF PYDNA.—PERSEUS TAKEN PRISONER, WITH ALL HIS CHILDREN.

\* THE time for the comitia, or assemblies, to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls, who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace, against Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and, what was still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than sixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguished, that it was no

\* A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xliv. n. 17. Plat. in Paul. Æm. p. 259, 260.

time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour; and, that it was necessary to choose a general for his wisdom, valor and experience; in a word, one capable of presiding in so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more affecting than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valor and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old; but age without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment; more necessary in a general than even valor and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired the general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, though he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, made instances to him to comply with the people's wishes, in taking upon him the consulship; but believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in public, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door; that they summoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he gave in at last to their remonstrances, and appearing among those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia, decreed to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who, on seeing him, fell a crying bitterly. He embraced, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia, hugging him with her little arms, "You do not know, then," said she, "that our Perseus is dead, papa." She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called Perseus. "And at a very good time, my dear child," said Paulus Æmilus, struck with the word, "I accept this omen with joy." The ancients carried their superstition upon this kind of fortuitous circumstances very high.

\* The manner in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact inquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added, both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely for certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering, and, who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them, either by

\* Liv. l. xliv. n. 18—22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

land or water ; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprized in all these circumstances ; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The senate approved these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprises of Antiochus, king of Syria, which have been before related.

The commissioners had made good use of their time. Upon their return, they reported, that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility ; that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it ; that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipeus ; that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines ; that, to the other inconveniences, a very severe winter had happened, from which they could not but suffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting ; and, that they had only provisions for six days ; that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to 30,000 men ; that, if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius ; but, that Claudius and his troops, were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement was immediately sent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he was in. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet ; that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases ; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home ; and, that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers ; that those who remained had not received their pay, and had no clothes ; that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shown themselves, disappeared immediately, without any visible cause ; and, that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on ; but that, as for his brother Attalus, his good will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed, that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to 25,800 men ; that is, of two Roman legions, each composed of 6000 foot, and 300 horse ; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had, besides, 600 horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to 30,000 men. The prætor Anicius had also two legions ; but they consisted of only 5000 foot, and 300 horse each ; which, with 10,000 of the Italian allies, and 800 horse, composed the army under him of 21,200 men. The troops that served on board the fleet were 5000 men. These three bodies together made 56,200 men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia, seemed of the last consequence, all precautions were taken that might conduce to the success of it. The consul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and each commanded in his turn, an entire legion. It was decreed, that none should be elected into this employment, but such as had already served; and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to choose out of all the tribunes, such as he approved for his army. He had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen consul and general, the person among them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his time. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity, instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority; to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more; by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to choose such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is, in a manner, the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a passion for the public good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner; "You seem to me, Romans, to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I was elected consul, or entered upon that office; and, to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the hopes you conceived, that I should put an end, worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has already been of too long continuance. I have reason to believe, that the same gods,\* who have occasioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also assist me with their protection in conducting and terminating this war successfully; but, of this I may venture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your expectations. The senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary in the expedition I am charged with; and, as I am ordered to set out immediately, I shall make no delay, and know that my colleague, C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the public service, will raise and march off the troops appointed for me, with as much ardor and expedition, as if they were for himself. I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact account of all that passes; and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of my letters; but I beg of you, as a great favour, that you will not give credit to, or lay any weight out of credulity, upon the light reports, which are frequently spread abroad without any author. I perceive well, that in this war, more than any other, whatever resolution people may form to obviate these rumours, they will not fail to make impression, and inspire I know not what discouragement. There are those, who, in company, and even at table, command armies, make dispositions, and prescribe all the operations of the campaign. They know

\* It was a received opinion, in all ages and nations, that the divinity presides over chance.

"better than we, where we should encamp, and what posts it is necessary for us to seize ; at what time, and by what defile, we ought to enter Macedonia ; where it is proper to have magazines ; from whence, either by sea or land, we are to bring provisions ; when we are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. They not only prescribe what is best to do, but for deviating ever so little from their plans, they make it a crime in their consul, and cite him before their tribunal. But know, Romans, this is of very bad effect with your generals. All have not the resolution and constancy of Fabius, to despise impertinent reports. He could choose rather to suffer the people, upon such unhappy rumours, to invade his authority, than to ruin affairs in order to preserve their opinion, and an empty name. I am far from believing, that generals stand in no need of advice ; I think, on the contrary, that whoever would conduct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and without counsel, shows more presumption than prudence. But, some may ask, how then shall we act reasonably ? In not suffering any persons to obtrude their advice upon your generals, but such as are, in the first place, versed in the art of war, and have learned, from experience, what it is to command ; and, in the second, who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, are witnesses in person to all that passes, and sharers with us in all dangers. If there be any one, who conceives himself capable of assisting me with his counsels in the war you have charged me with, let him not refuse to do the republic that service, but let him go with me into Macedonia ; ships, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied him at my charge. But, if he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take upon him to hold the helm and continue idle in the port. The city of itself supplies sufficient matter of discourse on other subjects ; but, as for these, let it be silent upon them, and know, that we shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as shall be given us in the camp itself."

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shows that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticising, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that doing so is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice ; to reason, for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions ? To justice, for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot ; the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature ; and, generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

\* Paulus Æmilius, after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perseus, on his side, had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching

\* Liv. l. xliv. n. 23—29. Polyb. Leg. lxxxv. lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

danger which threatened him, having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, 300 talents in money, that is, 300,000 crowns, and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprise. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions which he gave his ambassadors, were very solid and persuasive, as we are about to see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked, almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, with so many resources in case of misfortune.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both those kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republics and monarchies; that the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them, one after another; that they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and in some measure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself; that after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate, of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious colour of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow; that they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them, either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace, or, if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not because Eumenes desired at bottom, that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befall him; the Romans, from being weary of a war, spun out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was 1500 talents, (1,500,000 crowns.) The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for

waiting till the service took effect, and in the mean time offered to deposit the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negotiation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of 10,000 horse, and as many foot, and had agreed to give 10 pieces of gold to each horseman, 5 to the infantry, and 1000 to their captains. I have observed above, that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in the towns and villages through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and habits; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms, and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms, the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point, and asked whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question, "Go," said he, "and let your prince know, that till he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir from hence." The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that 5000 horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than 5000 horse; upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the 5000 horse? As the deputy sought evasions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their route to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans, either to have penetrated into Ma-



ædonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice, by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the 300 talents he had demanded above a year, for raising troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria, 10 talents, (10,000 crowns,) in part of the sum promised him. Gentius despatched his ambassadors, and with them persons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republic into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the 300 talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had given orders underhand to the persons charged with this convoy, to march slowly, and by small journies, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to stop for his further orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, made pressing instances to the king, to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received 10 talents by way of earnest, and advice that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the 300 talents; congratulating himself in secret upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, "that victory should be purchased with money, and not money saved at the expense of victory."

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare war against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea, with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the last was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius, and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with

great moderation, the other cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come and throw himself at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy ; confessing with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners, very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipeus in front, whose banks were very high ; and on the side where he lay, he had thrown up good intrenchments, with towers from space to space, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at last repulse, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to subsist his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprise with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the license wherein it had been suffered to live. He reformed several things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of sentinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise upon their general, to examine all his actions among themselves, to prescribe his conduct, and to explain upon what he should or should not do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand, that such discourses did not become a soldier ; that he ought to make only three things his business ; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active ; that of his arms, to keep them always clean and in good condition ; and of his provisions,\* that he might be always in a readiness to march upon the first notice ; that, for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general ; that for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evidence their valor, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. No body was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses, and shields ; practising an active motion under their arms ; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords ; in short, forming and inuring themselves in all military exercises ; so that it was easy to foresee, that upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

\* The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface\* was scarce broke up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event though natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection, and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, the ardour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises by which they prepared themselves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted, and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius, an Hostilius, or a Marcus; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new works to the old, and used all means to put his camp out of danger of insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited among the soldiers an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on their side; for it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valor or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news; but his care to dissemble it, only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to peace, that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

To show how little he made of the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it and returned into Thessaly; perhaps upon account of provisions; for, at present, they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipeus. They observed, that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion that Octavius with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and attack the sea coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipeus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave his passage open.

\* *Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigenes turbida primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deum dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famæ et auctoritatis apud milites adjecit.* Liv.

It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the Enipeus, as well from its natural situation, as the fortifications which had been added to it was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore, for some days, without making the least motion. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace, and so perfect a tranquillity. In any other times the soldiers would have murmured out of ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent inquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhæbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhæbia, which led to Pythium, a town situated upon the brow of mount Olympus;\* that this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of 5000 men. He conceived, that in causing this post, to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days provisions with him for 1000 men, in order to make Perseus believe that he was going to ravage the sea coasts. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son in law of Scipio Africanus, set out; he gave them a detachment of 5000 chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their rout by the sea coast, they advanced, without halting, towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhæbian guides. It had been concluded that they should arrive there the third day, before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning, detached his light armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the course of the river itself, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of 300 paces, and the stream was 1000 paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and

\* The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten stadia, or half a league.

stones upon them. The consul lost abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet; but, on a sudden, a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprise him. The king terrified with the news, detached immediately 10,000 foreign soldiers, with 2000 Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence which the Romans had still to pass, before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very rude engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspense. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, seized with fear, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper measures. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country which he had taken care to lay waste, and could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution had great inconveniences, and argued the prince reduced to the last extremity, without either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himself by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded, but executed in person. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt; the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valor in emulation of each other. These reasons reanimated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together, gave the light armed foot and the archers a secure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season, for it was then about the end of summer, but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But

when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate on what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him, to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays; that he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses, through defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him therefore, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly," replied the consul to young Scipio, "I thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another time; at present satisfy yourself, and rely upon the discretion of an old general." The young officer was silent, well convinced that the consul had good reasons for acting as he did.

After he had spoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers,\* covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king, on his side, seeing the Romans declined fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable law† amongst the Romans, though they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to inclose themselves in a well fortified camp; by that means they placed themselves out of insult, and avoided all surprise. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchment served instead of walls, and the tents of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for a retreat and refuge; and, if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment, whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers, with the consul's permission, had apprized them of the eclipse, and showed them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers, therefore, were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge.

\* *Hastati Principes Triarii.*

† *Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse. Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro mœnibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac panateus sunt. Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Liv. l. xliv. n. 39.*

But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread ; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied himself to offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed 20, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one and twentieth, he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god, of 100 oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning, he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He desired therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before, were, first, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably, by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the second place, would it have consisted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain ? In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well intrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

\* We see here, that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general ; the former have only to desire, and behave well in battle ; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation ; and, by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging ; 700 Ligurians ran to assist these foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance to support the Thracians ; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle. This puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says, being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their swords ; and

\* *Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire ; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sapius quam temeritate prodesse.* Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.

he saw, at the same time, that the whole front line of the enemy joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass and forests of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that dreadful sight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Peligniæns, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the ensign of his company and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men upon that battalion. Astonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Peligniæns endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, and to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave those such great strokes that flung upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Peligniæns dead, who, without any caution continued to rush headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but, instead of advancing, they retreated towards mount Olocris.\* When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered with pikes, and close as an impenetrable intrenchment; and, continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of the battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, given so critically occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an instant, and all its force, which consisted solely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords, struck upon the Roman shields, which were strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot; on the

\* That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.



contrary, they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigor, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under a pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules ; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules was a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows ; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy ; whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there also that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son in law, after having done prodigies of valor, unhappily lost his sword, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as stood firm ; so that at length the 3000 Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut in pieces ; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight, to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled ; and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that 25,000 men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only 100, and made 11 or 12,000 prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired ; and the Romans, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far ; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of ivy,\* and crowns of laurel.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in an universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful

\* This was a custom among the Romans. Cæsar writes in the third book of the civil war, " that he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy." *L. etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hedera.*

silence. They searched for him with torches among the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears, and ruins no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately despatched three couriers of distinction, of whom his son Fabius was one, to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time, Perseus continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella with all his horse, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment further, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted and led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him took different routes from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived, about midnight, in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill timed freedom, to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill timed zeal, entirely lost him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the 300 talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that Island.

\* He was encamped at Sires† in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies, of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding

\* Liv. l. xlv. n. 3—9. Plut. in Paul, Æmil. p. 269. 270.

† An obscure, unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

tears when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, "Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Æmilus, greeting;" the stupid ignorance that prince seemed to be in of his condition, extinguished in him all sense of compassion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and suppliant style, and little consisted with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because, on the one side, Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it, but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman, named Acilius, either of himself, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of the sanctuary. In the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them; "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and "inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so. "How, then," continued he, "do you suffer its sanctity to be violated by an homicide, contaminated "with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin "by the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer "your temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous "murderer?" This accusation fell upon Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he should appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms, not to submit to that sentence. He had his reasons for giving this counsel, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures; they amounted to 2000

talents, that is, about 300,000 pounds. But, suspicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest of it to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus with infinite difficulty, crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair were inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He had intrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son, to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the consul; having first apprized him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son in law Tubero to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him, with a sufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival, rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him, "What cause of discontent had induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest dangers?" When, instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence; Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect; "Had you ascended the throne a youth, I should be less surprised at your being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman people for your friends or enemies; but having been present in the war made by your father against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which we have punctually observed on our side, how could you prefer war rather than peace, with a people whose force in the former, and fidelity in the latter, you had so well experienced?" Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question; "In whatsoever manner, notwithstanding," resumed the consul, "these affairs have happened; whether they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance; or that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman people have behaved in regard to many other kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I do not say with some hope only, but with almost entire confidence, that you will meet with the same treatment." He spoke this in Greek to Perseus; then, turning towards the Romans, "You see," said he in his own language, "a great example of the inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I address this dis-

\* *Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violentè consulere decet, nec præsentì credere fortunæ, cum quid vesper ferat, insertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec prospera fluita suo æferet, nec adversa infringet.* Liv.

"course. The uncertainty of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach us never to use any one with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely too much upon our present advantages. The proof of real merit and true valor is neither to be too elate in good, nor too dejected in bad fortune." Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. \* Perseus had reigned eleven years. † He was reckoned the fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only 15 days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend, however, beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the 13 years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms, after the death of Alexander, by his successors, who took each a part to himself, subsisted during something more than 150 years, from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so much boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict inquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps the presage of a victory, which either was already or would soon be obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who

\* Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

† Livy, such as we have him, says the twentieth. Justin the thirtieth. It is thought there is an error in the figure, and that it should be corrected, the fortieth, with Eusebius.

went thither to return thanks to the gods for their signal protection vouchsafed the republic.

\* After the nomination of the new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and that in Illyria to L. Anicius. Ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free ; in order that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved ; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them, in consideration for the Romans ; or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land estates ; because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax farmers, commonly called publicans ; and that whenever such sort of farmers are suffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation, lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive license. Macedonia was divided into four regions ; each of which had a distinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrisons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. In regard to some people, who either before or during the war, had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty ; all the rest were discharged from one half of the impost formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.

Before the deputies from Macedonia† arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece ; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Atheneus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, " That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors."

\* A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 17, 18.

† Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vauum, aut libertatim socii nullam esse. Liv.

‡ Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern into which those who consulted the oracle\* descended. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilocus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity; the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Pireus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or art were most admirable. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philosopher of the Athenians to finish the education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting; a very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by polite learning and the sciences, as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the historian, Panetius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a † writer of excellent sense, never said, did, nor thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way;

\* For an account of this oracle, see book. x chap. iii. sect. 2.

† P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, ac sensit. Patern. l. i. c. 12.

and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of *Æsculapius*, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration ; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's masterpiece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that " this Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer."\* Imagining himself in the capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of *Ætolians*, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reprov'd Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them as their birth and condition required.

† The commissioners being come thither, as had been agreed on with them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat in his tribunal and after having caused silence to be made by the crier, Paulus *Æmilius* repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free ; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns ; that it should have a public council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged ; that it should be divided for the future into four regions, or cantons, that each should have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined ; and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses, out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus *Æmilius* pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them ; but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual commerce with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by separating its members which have no life, and subsist only in their mutual support of each other.

\* To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias ; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of God, is much more to that of Homer.

† Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30.



\* The consul afterwards gave audience to the *Ætolians*. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign affairs were over, † *Paulus Æmilius* recalled the *Macedonians* into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon the senators, who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy, with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty; for this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expense, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by *Paulus Æmilius* were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

‡ To these serious affairs succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expenses; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evidenced so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed and treated according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games till then unknown to the Romans, he should instance so distinguishing a judgment and attention; and that a man employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all sorts; and caused them to be disposed of in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich movables, statues, and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

\* Liv. l. xlv. n. 31.

† Ibid. n. 32.

‡ Plut. in *Paul. Æmil.* p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration as himself. And as people were surprised at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius which was necessary in disposing a battle would serve also in regulating a feast ; in the first, it rendered an army formidable to enemies ; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness, for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers in order to its being applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus's library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

\* When Paulus Æmilius had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks ; and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the senate, to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commission, that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they should bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples, upon a certain day, into the market place, to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the public place, and at ten of the clock, the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses which were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy ; 150,000 men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which wanted very little of 70. The whole booty was sold, and of the sum raised by it, each of the horse had about 10 pounds sterling, 400 denarii, and each of the foot about 5 pounds, 200 denarii.

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after Anicius having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

† Paulus Æmilius, being arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perseus's galley, which had 16 benches of oars, and wherein

\* Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34, † Liv. l. xlv. n. 35—4 Plut. in Paul. Æmil'. p. 27 l. Vol. IV. 24

were displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and finest carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the side of the river, and seemed to give the proconsul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigor and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude, in point of discipline, rigor; and their discontent, occasioned by their avarice, threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every thing.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that seems foreign to the Grecian history. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than 1,250,000 pounds sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed ten talents, \* was valued for the gold only, at 100,000 crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Behind these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in pomp, was seen the chariot of Perseus, with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who, shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who had little sense of the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloak. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, "The favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can procure it for himself." He reproached, in those few words, his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius, seated in a superb chariot, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

\* A talent weighed sixty pounds.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried, by order of the senate, to Alba, where he was guarded and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned 11 years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories; and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his ancient services than late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom; that the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

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## ARTICLE II.

**T**HIS article includes the space of something more than 20 years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

### SECTION I.

#### ATTALUS COMES TO ROME TO CONGRATULATE THE ROMANS UPON THEIR SUCCESS IN MACEDONIA.

\* AMONGST the different embassies from kings and states, which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him,† more than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Asiatic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the republic's aid against those barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their last victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect, who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a most honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no

\* A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167.

† Polyb. Leg. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20.

longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business his brother had sent him to treat of, but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the senate to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy ; and these detached lines may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal it.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject such pleasing hopes, when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recal him to his duty, by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learned from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took the advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, that the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been improved solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it ; that only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem ; but, that they all reigned in effect ; that Eumenes, having no male issue, for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being, he could leave his throne only to his next brother ; that his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestable ; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore, then, should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner ? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely ? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such division, and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the consequence. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother ? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him, at his years, into banishment ? Or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death ? That he did not doubt but such thoughts must give him horror. That not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the sceptre from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same sceptre, at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of

the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured the very persons, who less out of friendship for him than ill will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus, in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent, and disinterested friend appear at such a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely and without reserve to him, and of being known by them in that light! The wise remonstrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly displayed the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state; and concluded, with requesting that the investiture of *Ænus* and *Maronea*, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised before hand to send ambassadors according to his demand, and made the prince the usual presents. They promised besides, to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him, and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared *Ænus* and *Maronea* free and independent cities. They sent, however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius, but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and showed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

\* The senate, some days after, gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct; and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate, with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to show at first his desire to justify it. He knew that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confessed its faults; he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke, had rendered still more criminal; but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them,

and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented, that there was no republic nor city that did not include some bad members ; that, after all, there were no other crimes objected to them but words ; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant, which he confessed to be the characteristics, and failings of his nation, but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigor, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity. " But," said he, " the neutrality observed by us in the late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity, in regard to you.\* Is there a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as the action itself ? But let your severity be carried to that excess, at most the punishment can only fall on those who have had this intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal ; ought the real services we have rendered you in the two preceding wars, to be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to us in the last ? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, bear witness now in our cause. The voices of the two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us ; and, for the third, at most, and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state of the question, pass a fatal decree against Rhodes ; for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed ; you may declare war against us ; but not a single Rhodiam will take up arms against you. If you persist in your resentment, we demand time to go and report our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free persons, will embark with all our estates and effects ; we will abandon our household gods, as well public as private, and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown our gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up ourselves, our wives, and our children to your discretion. We will suffer here before your eyes, whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of that calamity. You may by your resolves declare yourselves our enemies ; but there is a secret sense in the bottom of our hearts, that declares quite the contrary, and assures us, that whatever hostilities you may act against us, you will never find us otherwise than friends and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn by order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, entitled, *De Originibus*, wherein he had inserted his own orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius† has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's ; by which it appears, he made use of almost the same reasons with the am-

\* *Neque moribus neque legibus ullius, civitatis ita comparatum esse ut siquis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur.* Liv.

† Liv. l. vi. c. 5.

assadors of Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energetic style which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention was had to the force of thoughts, than to the elegance of words.

\* Cato begins his discourse by representing to the Romans, that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy ; that prosperity generally excites pride and insolence ; that he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they gave themselves up, to vanish like a dream. "Adversity," says he, "in humbling the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the measures which a calm situation of mind would enable us to discern and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should defer the decision of this affair, till, having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we may be masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity." He adds, "That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring that the Romans should have conquered Perseus ; but that they had such sentiments, in common with all other states ; sentiments, which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty ; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their whole crime, † by the consent of their most violent accusers, is to have intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime ? Is there any one amongst us that would be willing to subject himself to this rule ? For my part, I am sure I would not. The Rhodians, ‡ it is said, are proud. I should be very sorry that my children could justly make me that reproach. But, pray, in what does their pride affect us ? Would it become us to make it a crime in them to be prouder than we are ?"

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator as Cato, prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies, but continued them in suspense. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for 200 talents,

\* Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augetere atque crescere ; quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secunde processit, nequid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet ; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose eveniat. Adversæ res se domant, et docent quid opus sit facto ; secundæ res lætitia transversum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.

† Qui acerrime adversus eos dicit, ita dicit ; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum censeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse ? nemo, opinor ; nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim.

‡ Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi a liberis meis minime deci velim. Sint sane superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet ? Idne frascimulæ, siquis superbior est quam nos ?



about 25,000 pounds, of Ptolemy's general, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus ; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of 120 talents, or 15,000 pounds. At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians ; for, instead of 1,000,000 of drachmas, about 25,000 pounds sterling, to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only 150,000, about 3750 pounds sterling.

The senate's answer, having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take up arms against the republic, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to insensible of small ones. How hard soever these orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed, at the same time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of 10,000 pieces of gold,\* and chose their admiral Theodotus, to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost 140 years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republic ; which was a fetch of their politics. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties ; that continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans ; but to remove, by that change, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year ; nor then, without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partizans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

I have before observed,† that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lycisclus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interest they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans ; that they had put to death 550 of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus ; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment, and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The inquiry was confined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished, justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution ; but why condemned, if it was just ? Or if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it ?

\* This might amount to about 6000 pounds, reckoning the piece of gold, χρυσός, at 12 shillings, or thereabouts.

† Liv. l. xiv. n. 28, 32.

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities, but were in no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interests, after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand, that besides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were abundance of others, secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colour of asserting liberty, influenced the whole people against them, and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those who had only the interest of the commonwealth at heart, was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to consider, and treat as criminals, all who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all who should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours? We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and decency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else when it opposes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Beotia; and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such as, in public or private, had favoured Perseus.

\* Of all the small states of Greece, none gave the Roman republic so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which, till then had continued formidable, by the number and valor of their troops; by the ability of their generals; and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they decided in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles; but it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

\* A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pausan. in Achæic. p. 416, 417.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would suffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, that they should send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus; but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valor, should refuse obedience to the letters that should be written them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the risk of their lives in the assembly; the second, because in the letters which had been found among Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Enobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other, Pausanias does not say which, complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded, that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he should name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard of thing to condemn persons before it was declared who they were; and pressed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated instances to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had been guilty of that crime. Xenon, upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect; "I have commanded the armies, and have had the honour to be chief magistrate of the league; I protest, that I have never acted in any thing contrary to the interests of the Romans, at which I am ready to prove either in the assembly of the Achæans, or at Rome before the senate." The Romans took hold of this expression, as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates, should be sent to Rome, in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may justly be called tyrannical, caused about 1000 of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned his presence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achæan league, during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and for war, Philoxæmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors he imbibed

those learned lessons of government and war, which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing, without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

\* The Achæans, surprised and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same deputies to Rome, with Euræas at their head, to protest again before the senate, that those Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with; that it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but, in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such inquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner as should evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles, without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles consisted with theirs, or the interest of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece into consternation. An universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced that there was nothing further to hope for the accused Achæans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

† However, they sent new deputies, with instructions to demand the return of the exiles; but, as suppliants, and as a favour, lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem ever so little to oppose the will of

\* Polyb. Leg. cv.

† Ibid. cxxi.

the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved; notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared that they would persist in the regulations already made.

\* The Achæans would not be rejected; and appointed several deputations at different times, but with no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion that it was proper to send home the exiles.

† The Achæans having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished 17 years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the senate; some being for their return into their country, and their being restored to the possession of their estates; and others opposing it. Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator rising up to speak in his turn, "To see us," said he, "dispute a whole day, whether some poor old men of Greece shall be interred by our grave diggers, or those of their own country, would not one believe that we had nothing at all to do?" That pleasantry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of so long a contest, and to determine at last to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius was for desiring that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but, before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him, smiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some miserable tatters you have left there."† The exiles accordingly returned into their country; but of the 1000 that left it, only about 300 remained. Polybius made no use of this permission, or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, seeing 3 years after, he was with him at the siege of Carthage.

## SECTION II.

ARIARATHES DIES, AND IS SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON.—DEATH OF EUMENES.—WAR BETWEEN ATTALUS AND PRUSIAS.

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment they seemed to have to that prince; and, some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Prusias, king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

‡ Prusias being come to Rome, to make the senate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against

\* A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. Polyb. Leg. cxxix. cxxx.

† Plut. in Cato Cens. p. 341.

‡ A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

‡ A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Polyb. Leg. xcvi. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44.

Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, shoes, and stockings of a slave made free; and saluting the deputies, "You see," said he "one of your freedmen ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs." When he entered the senate, he stood at the door, facing the senators who sat, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, "I salute you, gods, preservers," cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias, of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing; he contents himself with mentioning in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason; for, that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

\* Prusias had scarce left Rome, when advice came that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner that they could neither continue him as a friend nor an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions, but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent; to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him, and to proclaim to all the world that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniences, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republic, they forbade all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

† This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes had secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo Grecians his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo Grecians, underhand, to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Atheneus thither, to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made seemed finally to confute all

\* Polyb. Leg. xcvi.

† A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. Polyb. Leg. xcvi. cii. civ. cv. cvi. cxix. cxxi.

complaints against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia, laden with honours and presents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate despatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

\* Sulpicius acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed that such as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes; a liberty that set all mal contents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies!

† Tiberius Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the sister of Eumenes. That prince died some time after. His son Ariarathes† surnamed Philopater, succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came of age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called Philopater, that is, lover of his father. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

‖ As soon as the young king ascended the throne, he sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans should be renewed, which was granted him with praises.

§ Some time after, notwithstanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers set in his place, who was a supposed son, named Holofernes. ¶ Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also thither. The senate decreed that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of eternal division between them. Attalus, in the first year of his reign, re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo Grecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight years.\*\* He left for his successor †† in the kingdom his son Attalus, surnamed Philometor, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom twenty one years.

\* Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

† A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

‡ A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. Eleg. p. 895.

‖ Polyb. Leg. cxxi.

§ A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Leg. cxxvi.

¶ A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

\*\* Strabo says he reigned forty three years, but that is presumed to be an error.

†† Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, his soul great, and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He gave place to none of the kings,\* his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed pre-eminence with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece; and enriched more private persons, than any prince. To finish his character, he possessed so fully the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that though they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his service assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it; but I shall speak of that elsewhere.

† The division which had almost perpetually subsisted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted that he had failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. ‡ Attalus sent his brother Athenus to Rome, to implore the aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded these orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. At this she was contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous armies both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him, but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their route to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostili-

\* Polyb. Exempt. Virt. et Vit. p. 166.

† A. M. 3848. Ant. J. C. 156. Polyb. Leg. cxxviii. cxxix. cxxxiii. cxxxv. cxxxvi.

‡ A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.



ties ; and some of them returned to Rome to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace, which they presented him. This treaty imported, that Prusias should give immediately twenty decked ships to Attalus ; that he should pay him 500 talents, 500,000 crowns, in the space of twenty years ; that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, such as they stood before the war ; that Prusias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them 100 talents, 100,000 crowns. When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops, both by sea and land, into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

\* Attalus the younger, son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and without doubt, to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours suitable to his years ; after which he set out for his dominions.

† Prusias also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly considered there, he gave him instructions to demand that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to despatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrating, that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses his master had sustained from him. Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. The young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, ‡ thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people to his party ; for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers, sent by Nicomedes, or according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side ! Prusias was called the Hunter, and had reigned at least thirty six years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

This king of Bithynia's person || had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour, nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man, and a mere woman as to valor and bravery. He was not only timorous, but soft, and incapable of fatigue ; in a word, equally effeminate in mind and body ; defects by no means amiable in a king, and least of all amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of the good and great, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus ; so that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner he had governed them.

\* Polyb. l. eg. cxi.

† A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Appian in Mithrid. p. 175. Justin l. xxxiv. c. 4.

‡ A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. || Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians,\* but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of 500 talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers; Carneades, of the sect of the academics; Diogenes, of the stoics, and Critolaus, of the peripatetics. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking, that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome who had any taste for the sciences, made it their honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration on hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and ornament were united, transported and enchanted them. It was universally talked, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and enjoyments, to abandon themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw, with great joy, their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and inseparable from these wonderful men. Cato only seemed sorry for it; apprehending that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge, and that they would prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time, under the care of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city; and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be despatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the 500 talents reduced to 100.

The other embassy was sent by the people of Marseilles.† They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an army. He laid siege to the city where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors,‡ took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in several battles. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay

\* A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155. Cic. l. ii. de. Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

† Polyb. Leg. cxxxi. et cxxxiv.

‡ Egium.

a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles, in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by origin of Phoea,\* a city of Ionia. When Xerxes sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return into Phoea, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there, by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city, since called Marseilles. This foundation is said to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the forty fifth Olympiad, and 600 years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodness, being dead; his son† did not show them so much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country, as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her house only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; then by great entreaties obtained a second term to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillians had, in consequence, at first a rude war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several colonies‡ and built several cities; Agde, Nice, Antibia, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their enemies. So many new settlements|| contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives.§ Hence so surprising an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

¶ The inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its policy and government, which was aristocratical, that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of 600 senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number 15 were elected to take care of the current affairs, and 3 to preside in the assemblies in quality of principal magistrates.

\* Herod. l. i. c. 164. Justin l. xliii. c. 3.

† Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.

‡ Strab. p. 180.

|| Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.

§ Adeo magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græciæ ipsæ Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur. Justin.

¶ Strab. l. iv. p. 179.

\* The right of hospitality was in singular estimation amongst the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might have been for introducing sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

† They piqued themselves, especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed 100 pieces of gold, that is to say, very near 100 pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus,‡ who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles, in his time. "That city," says he, "steadfastly retaining the ancient severity of manners,|| excluded from their theatre those comedians whose pieces generally turn upon the subject of unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. "Lest," adds the author, "a familiarity with such sort of shows should make the people more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies, those indecent tears and lamentations with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day, by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased; § "For is it consistent to abandon ourselves to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divinity for not having thought fit to share his immortality with us?"

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in its praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricola, his father in law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of Julia Procilla his mother,¶ a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the most early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age; he adds, "What had preserved him from the dangers and disorders, to which youth in general are exposed, was, besides his own genius and disposition, the good fortune of having from his infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabitants the politeness of the Greeks, and the simplicity and reserve of the provinces, were happily united." *Arcebat cum ab illicebus peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistratuum studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græcia comitante et provinciali parvinitia mistum ac bene compositum.*

From what I have said may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, and at the same time for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathematics, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publicly professed

\* Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6. † Strab. l. iv. p. 181. ‡ Lib. ii. c. 6.

|| Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est; nullum aditum in scenam nimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

§ Etenim quid attinent, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini injuriam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri noluerit?

¶ Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentia que educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam, adolescentiamque transegit. Tacit. in Agricol. c. iv.

there. This city produced\* the most ancient of the learned men of the west, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time, he lived in the reign of Augustus, the young nobility of Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itself; which is saying a great deal. We have already seen that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseillians distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republic. † "I am assured," says he, that not only in Greece, but in all "other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wise policy established "at Marseilles. That city, so remote from the country, manners, and "language of all other Greeks situated in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous "nations that surround it on all sides, is so prudently directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom "of its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental rule of their politics,‡ from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the barbarians around them. Beside which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

|| Justin relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that disaster of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either of the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. § The Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the public shows. It is certain, ¶ that during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill successes which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. ¶ Cæsar, against whom they had shut their gates, caused the 15 senators, who were in su-

\* Voss. in *Histor. Græc.*

† Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græciz sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam; quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplina, linguaque divisa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbaræ fluctibus alluatur, sic optimatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint, quam æmulari. *Orat. pro Flacco.* n. 63.

‡ Strab. l. iv. p. 180.

|| Justin. l. xliiii. c. 5.

§ Liv. l. xxi. n. 20—25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

¶ Cæs. in *Bel. Civ. li.*

preme authority, to come to his camp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city ; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man ; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer ;\* that they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties ; that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side ; that the two heads of these parties were equally the protectors of their city ; and at the same time its friends and benefactors ; that, for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist, nor receive the one into their city or ports, to the prejudice of the other. † They suffered a long siege, in which they showed all possible valor ; but at length, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place, part of those favourable reports, antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression ; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt ; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

### SECTION III.

ANDRISCUS, PRETENDED SON OF PESEUS, CAUSES HIMSELF TO BE PROCLAIMED KING OF MACEDONIA.

‡ FIFTEEN or sixteen years after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain ; that after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the

\* *Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas ; neque sui judicii, neque marum virium discernere ultra pars justiore habeat causam ; principes vero eorum esse partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis. Paribus eorum beneficiis, parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, et neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portibus recipere.*

† *Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.*

‡ *A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epiton. Liv. l 48—50. Zonar. ex Dione, l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14.*

secret to his wife, and intrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said ; which writing she was to deliver him, Philip, as soon as he should attain to the years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time ; pressing him to quit the country before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views for the sake of delivering themselves, by his means, from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion ; and, if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valor. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them ; and, without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

\* However, it was well known at Rome, from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army ; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elated with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations without any moderation or reserve ; as if the being truly a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occasion-

ed by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventius. Andriscus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriscus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriscus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above 25,000 men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory but to seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans. Andriscus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus; he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and set himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterwards surnamed *Scrofa*, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos*.

#### SECTION IV.

TROUBLES IN ACHAIA.—METELLUS AND MUMMIUS SETTLE THOSE TROUBLES.—  
THE LATTER TAKES CORINTH, AND DESTROYS IT.

\* METELLUS, after having pacified Macedonia, continued there some time. Great commotions had arisen amongst the Achæans of the league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence and equity; but, by the interests and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta, had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme

\* A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421—428. Polyb. l. c. cxliii. cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. p. 181—189. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.



magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might cease till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Dieus who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth. Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission. The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and, for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, near mount Œta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and, would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met, on their way, a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome; they carried him back with them to Ægium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or excused it better than the Achæans themselves would have done; and were as reserved, in regard to the cities they had been for separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any further; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly; but Dieus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flame of discord; insinuating, that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in, lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told that Thearidas should be sent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegea\* to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome, to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate went to the congress; and he did not arrive there till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not come into any measures. He

\* A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

said, that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That bad stratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedemonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus than Critolaus ran from city to city, during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedemonians in the conferences held at Tegea, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had done, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion, which he himself had against them; and, he only succeeded too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedemon. By that means, whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves, by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers rose about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, enflamed them against the magistrates who did not enter into his views; flew out against the ambassadors themselves, animated them against the Romans, and gave them to understand, that it was not without previous good measures he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party; and that the republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedemonians, and, in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedemon, to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out for Naupactus, and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Beotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Beotians, to join their arms with those of the Achæans; they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

\* The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of ter-

minating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, with promises that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphea in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than 1000 prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle without its being known what became of him. It was supposed that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Deus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to 14,000 foot, and 600 horse. He gave orders besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves; others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with 1000 Arcadians in Beotia, near Cheronea, who were endeavouring to return into their own country; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Deus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes; but this was not in their power, the faction of Deus, disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Deus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Solicrates, who had talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival, and lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guards being negligent of duty upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Deus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, ha-

ving placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they should take from the enemy ; so fully did they assure themselves of the victory.

Never was there a more rash or ill founded confidence. The faction had removed from the service and councils all such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability ; in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chiefs, without military knowledge, valor, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without necessity, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near Leucopetra,\* and the defile of the isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank ; who, surprised by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance ; but, as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broke and put to flight. If Dieus had retired into the place, he might have held out some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis, his country ; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any further resistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some supportable conditions ; so that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it were put to the sword, and the women and children sold ; and, after the statues, paintings, and richest moveables were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, though it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended that the gold, silver, and brass, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations, in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans, 952 years after its foundation by Aletes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take ; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies

\* This place is not now known.

to implore their clemency. One would have thought, from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans were also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by being disarmed. The ten commissioners, sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Beotians, Phœceans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; because, at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece. The Roman people sent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to show that example of severity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash, and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might canton themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. \* Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated† hand in Greece,‡ representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for 600,000 sesterces, that is about 3625 pounds sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for 100 talents, or 100,000 crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb; *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheless these sums seem repugnant to probability. However it were, the consul, surprised that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it, contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. || He did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating

\* *Majores nostri; Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari, Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.*

† This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here, was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, "All paintings are nothing in comparison to the Bacchus."

‡ Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38, and l. xxxv. c. 4, and 10

|| Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosis simul urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quam domum suam, maluit. Quanquam Italia ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatio. Laus abstinentiæ non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum. Habere quæstui temp. non modo turpe est, sed scelèratum etiam et nefarium. Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.

it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to see it out of curiosity, as a masterpiece of art ; and it remained there till it was burned with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture, the merit of which he did not distinguish ; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the present occasion. \* He had ordered persons to take care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome. Never had loss been so irreparable, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the masterpieces of those rare artists, who contributed almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted ; and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the exceeding delicacy of taste of the present age, for such sort of rarities ? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings among the magistrates, was the occasion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, on returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. † If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his master in the science of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the statues erected to that hero taken down, had the imprudence to prosecute him criminally as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. That accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopœmen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the latter times ; that he might, perhaps, have carried his zeal for the lib-

\* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eas reddituras. Non tamen puto dubites. Vinici. quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere ad huc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi ; et quin hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. Vell. Paterc. l. i. n. 13.

† Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

erty of his country a little too far ; but, that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions ; as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætoliens. The commissioners before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed that the statues of Philopœmen should continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus ; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal Polybius had expressed upon this occasion, for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave, at the same time, a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Dieus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and should have thought himself, in some measure, an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune ; beside which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow citizens. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Dieus ; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

\* This action made the commissioners conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice, and prudence, that no further contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places ; upon the base of one of which was this inscription : " That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if she had harkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius ; but, that after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer."

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece ; and, having enjoyed there † the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of 82 years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king, Andriscus, was led before his chariot. Among the spoils, he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great, to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost twenty five of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. The statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metel-

\* Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

† Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

lus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumph, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and several other cities of Italy; but, not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

## SECTION V.

### REFLECTIONS ON THE CAUSES OF THE GRANDEUR, DECLENSION, AND RUIN OF GREECE.

AFTER having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and consider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the rise, progress, and declension of the principal states that composed it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

#### THE FIRST AND SECOND AGES OF GREECE.

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece. The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was, in a manner, its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified, and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur Bossuet \* observes, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who, settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, an effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who, regarding nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them; the Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle, to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Besides

\* Universal History.



this, the condition of private persons to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived ; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjust, and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions, which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands, and of arts, and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the first dignities of the state ; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state, a great equality, void of pomp, luxury or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions in the armies either by land or sea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the mean of fortune, simplicity in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domestics and table. It is surprising to consider the small retributions with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments and services rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and indured from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments ? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

#### THE THIRD AGE OF GREECE.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the obscure compass of their cities had but faintly dawned, and shone with but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled, in some measure, to quit her home, and to show herself abroad in open day, such as she was. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the east, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by sea and land, against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up, and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue, and destroy the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valor and fortitude, which shone at that time, and continued to do so long after, on like occasions. To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example and practice, and were become by long habit a second nature in them ?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self interest, attention to the public good, desire of glory, love of their country ; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for whoever conceived the least thought against it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissention and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or of making conquests at the expense of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of their lands, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics, and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government; and we are tempted to demand of ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence those noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or for the drawing up and disposing all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffred themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persevered, in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same remoteness from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury; they, however, never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about 80 years after the battle of Salamin; and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to show.

#### THE FOURTH AGE OF GREECE.

The principal cause of the weakening, and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union sub-

sisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord among them. For that reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly, in this manner, by bribes, secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned their victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude the more agreeably, coloured their design with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe, could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time, animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition; but those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill sustained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its slavery; because the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, soon made themselves its masters; so that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province; they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

\* It did not lose with its power that ardent passion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla,† who punished them so cruelly, 60 years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth, the party of Pompey,‡ who fought for the republic. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius, near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Anthony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to

\* Strab. l. ix.

† Diod. l. xlii. p. 191. et l. xlvii. p. 339.

‡ Plut. in Sylla.

which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened schools, which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the science of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method; all the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself, in some measure, their disciple.

Nothing shows better the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece than a letter of Pliny the younger.\* He writes in this manner to Maximus, appointed governor of that province by Trajan. "Call to mind, dear Maximus, that you are going into Achaia, the true Greece, the same Greece where learning and the polite arts had their birth; where even agriculture was invented, according to the common opinion. Remember that you are sent to govern free cities and free men, if any such there were; who, by their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties and religion, have known how to preserve the liberty they received from nature. Revere the gods, their founders; respect their heroes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the sacred antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great exploits, and even fables and vanity of that people. Remember it is from those sources that we have derived our law; that we did not impose our laws upon them, after we had conquered them, but that they gave us theirs, at our request, before they were acquainted with the power of our arms. In a word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæmon you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow which they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement, from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chrysostom, went to Athens to imbibe, as at their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves,† who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to their being intrusted with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them, as a common disciple.

\* Lib. viii. c. 24.

† Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

By a new kind of victory unknown before, Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole east, from whence she had expelled barbarism ; and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room ; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs ; a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit, but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes some where, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek was in no great estimation.

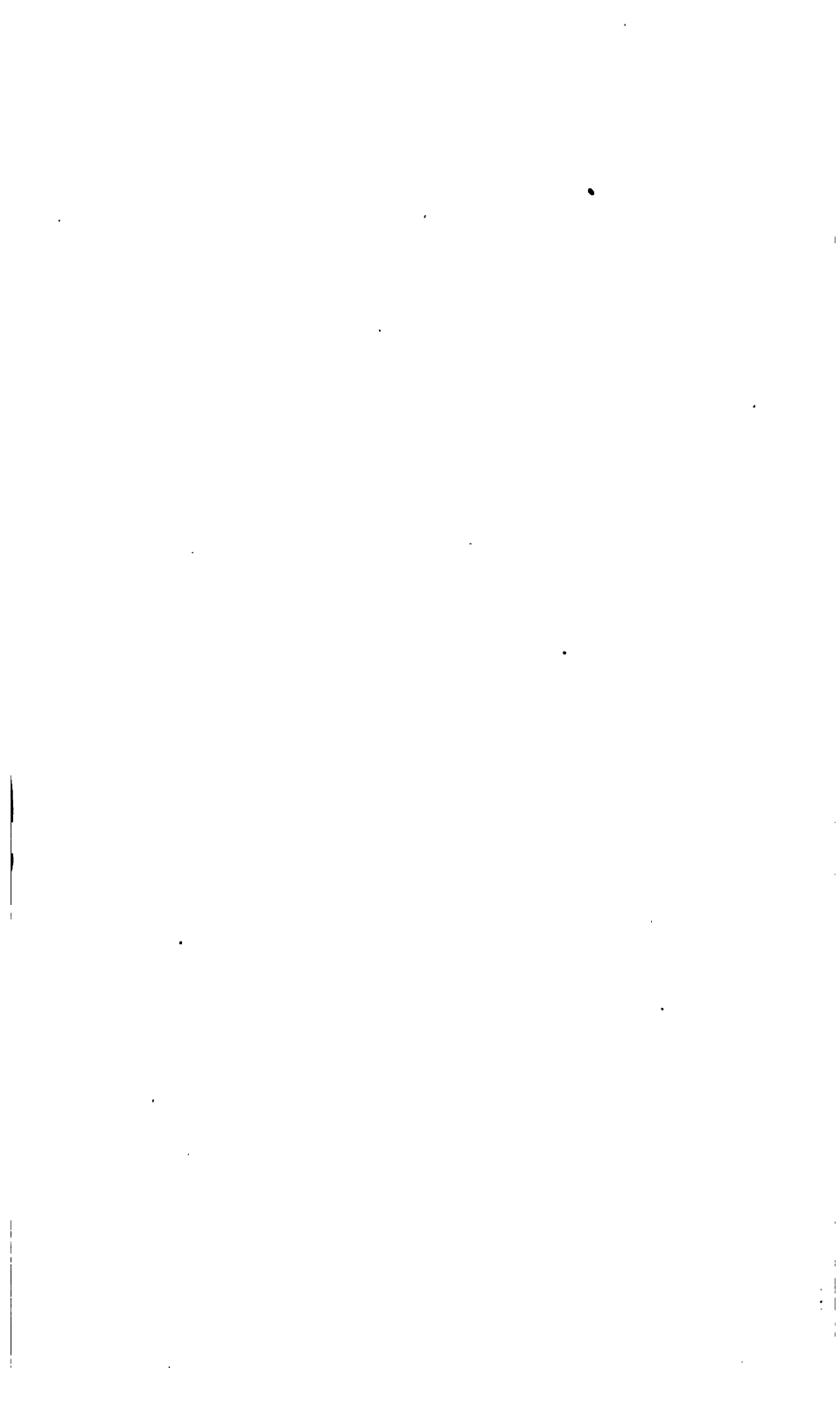
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### ARTICLE III.

**I**T seems, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which several kings not only succeed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly, and at the same time, to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession and duration, of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This small chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear sighted, will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little ; but it may be passed over, and recourse be only had to it when it is necessary to be set right ; I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of 100 years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the 20th year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne, that is, from the year of the world 3845, to 3946.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains also almost the space of 100 years from Antiochus Eupator, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire ; that is, from the year of the world 3840, to the year 3939.



## SECTION I.

CHRONOLOGICAL ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT  
AND SYRIA.

## A. M.      KINGS OF EGYPT.

## KINGS OF SYRIA.

- 3824** Ptolemy Philometor, reigned something more than 34 years. This article contains only 14 years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his brother Evergetes, or Physcon.

- 3840** Antiochus Eupater, aged 19 years succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years.

- 3842** Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus Philopater, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne.

- 3851** Bala, under the name of Alexander giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned 12 years.

- 3859** Alexander Bala. He reigns almost five years, Ptolemæus Philometor declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter.

- 3859** DEMETRIUS Nicator.

- 3860** Ptolemy Evergetes, otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

Antiochus Theos, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom.

Diodotes Tryphon, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne.

- 3863** Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner and confine him. He had reigned 7 years.

- 3864** Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleo-

## KINGS OF EGYPT.

## KINGS OF SYRIA.

## A. M.

Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra. He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra his first wife.

Physcon re-ascends the throne.

Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.

Demetrius is killed by Zebina.

Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.

Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra.

Antiochus Grypus, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.

patra Demetrius' wife marries him.

Antiochus Sidetes 3873 marches against the Parthians.

The Parthians send 3874 back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain.

Alexander Zebina, 3877 supported by Physcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after.

3880

3881

Zebina is over- 3882 thrown by Grypus, and dies soon after.

Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.

3884

3887

Death of Physcon: He reigned 29 years.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, or Soter, succeeds Physcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and marry Selena, his youngest sister.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son.



A. M.      **KINGS OF EGYPT.****KINGS OF SYRIA.**

3890

Antiochus, the Cyzicenean, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms against Grypus.

3891

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenean. She is killed by the order of Tryphena, wife of Grypus.

3892

The Cyzicenean gains a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria.

3893

Grypus is reconciled with his brother, the Cyzicenean.

The two brothers are reconciled and divide the empire of Syria.

3897 Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt. He had reigned 10 years. She sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.

3903 She gives her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

Cleopatra gives her daughter Selena to Antiochus Grypus.

3907

Death of Grypus. He had reigned 27 years. Seleucus, his son, succeeds him.

3910

Antiochus, the Cyzicenean is overthrown and put to death.

3911

Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenean, causes himself to be declared king.

Eusebes marries Selena, widow of Grypus.

3912

Antiochus XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes.

## KINGS OF EGYPT.

## KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

Philip, his brother,  
third son of Grypus,  
succeeds him.

3913

Demetrius Eucharès,  
fourth son of Grypus,  
is established upon the  
throne at Damascus,  
by the assistance of  
Lathyrus.

3914

Alexander kills his  
mother Cleopatra.

3915

Alexander is expelled  
himself. He had  
reigned 19 years. He  
died soon after. La-  
thyrus is recalled.

Eusebes overthrown  
by Philip and Deme-  
trius, takes refuge a-  
mongst the Parthians.

3916

Demetrius, having  
been taken by the Par-  
thians, Antiochus Di-  
onysius, fifth son of  
Grypus, is placed up-  
on the throne of Da-  
mascus, and is killed  
the following year.

He is re-established  
upon the throne by  
their means.

3918

The Syrians weary  
of so many divisions  
and revolutions, elect  
Tigranes, king of Ar-  
menia. He reigns by  
a viceroy 14 years.

3921

Death of Lathyrus.

Alexander II. son  
of Alexander I. un-  
der Sylla's protection,  
is chosen king. He  
marries Cleopatra, cal-  
led otherwise Beren-  
ice, and kills her 17  
days after. He had  
reigned 15 years.

Eusebes takes refuge  
in Cilicia, where he  
remains concealed.

3923

Selena his wife, re-  
tains part of Phœnicia  
and Coelosyria, and  
gives her two sons a  
good education.

Tigranes recalls Me-  
gadates his viceroy  
from Syria, who com-  
manded there 14 years  
in his name.

Syria, being unpro-  
vided with troops,  
Antiochus Asiaticus,  
son of Antiochus Eu-  
sebes, takes posses-  
sion of some part of  
the country, and reigns  
there during four  
years.

3935

The Alexandrians ex-  
pel Alexander.

Ptolemy Auletes, bas-  
tard son of Lathyrus

## A. M.    KINGS OF EGYPT.

3939 is placed upon the throne.

## KINGS OF SYRIA.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The house of the Seleucides is extinct with him.

## SECTION II.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATER SUCCEEDS TO THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.—JUDAS MACCABEUS'S CELEBRATED VICTORIES.

\* WE have long lost sight of the history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no small connection with each other. I am now going to resume the thread of them, which will not be interrupted any more.

† Antiochus, surnamed Eupater, aged only 19, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes, in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, sent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted, for the repossession of his right, and the expulsion of the usurper.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the scripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigor of the persecution against them, and employed his whole credit to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt, who had intrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service; for, how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length, they did so much by their clamours and cabals that he

\* It is treated last towards the end of Book xviii. Article ii. Sect. ii. and iii..

† A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164 Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Maccab. iv. 17. 2. Maccab. ix. 29. et x. 10—13. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

was deprived of his government, which was given to Lysias ; no other post or pension being conferred on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself ; an end he had well deserved for his treason, and share in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

\* Judas Maccabeus at this time signalized his valor by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels, desirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great interest in making so powerful a neighbouring people submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

† Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopater, who, from the year his father died, had remained an hostage at Rome, was in his 23d year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupater to the crown, which he pretended to be his right as the son of Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne ; and to engage them in it, he represented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard for the interest of the republic than the rights of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupater, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

‡ Lysias terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabeus, formed an army of 80,000 foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with 80 elephants ; at the head of all these forces he marched into Judea, with the resolution to settle strange inhabitants, that worshipped idols, in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumea and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabeus, and the whole people, beseeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there appeared|| a horseman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed 12,600 men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

\* 1 Maccab. v. 1—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14—38.

† A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb. Leg. cvii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian in Syr. p. 117.

‡ 2 Maccab. ix. 1—38. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—68. iv. 19—63. Joseph. Antiq. c. xii.

|| It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of God.

\* After this check, Lysias, weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the scripture says, "Believing the Jews invincible, when supported by the aid of the Almighty God," made a treaty with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repose. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of 120,000 foot, without including the horse, which amounted to 25,000. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost 30,000 men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved that God alone is the source of valor, intrepidity, and success in war. He showed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of 100,000 foot, with 20,000 horse, 32 elephants, and 300 chariots of war. The king in person, and Lysias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judea. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the Creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, "The victory of God," he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them in the night attacked the king's quarters. They killed 4000 men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valor of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve the people, and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephant, through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all that opposed him. Then placing himself, under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length, exhausted by the fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding as-

sistance there against Lysias. But the divisions which arose between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the east, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence, upon his expedition against Judea, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

\* The troubles, occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometer. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopater, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him 26 miles, that is, at nine or 10 leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but he did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had worn till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design, by all these circumstances, was to express the misery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank; they assured him, that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprised them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were given to the questors and treasurers, to see him served and supplied, at the expense of the public, with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

\* A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Porphyr. in Cr. Eus. Scalig. p. 60 and 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Leg. 193. Epit. Liv. l. 46.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him ; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene were given to Physcon ; Philometer had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been, with the generality of princes, no more than simple ceremonies, and mere forms, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded, that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alleged, that he had been forced, by the necessity of the times, to comply with the former proposals, and that, though Cyprus should be granted him, his part would still be far from equal to his brothers. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother ; that he made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator ; that at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him ; and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintius and Canuleius, who had negotiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The senate seeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the youngest what he demanded ; for such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely from their own interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend, it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt, should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus, and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

\* During that prince's stay in Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Physcon.

\* Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

Physon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the senate's instructions. Philometer did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

\* The Cyreneans, in the mean time, informed of the ill conduct of Physcon, during his being possessed of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted but Philometer had taken pains underhand to excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometer's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus, according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome in five days.

Physon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica, but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He ascribed this to his brother Philometer; and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the senate, showed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philometer was the most humane of all princes, and could not be the least suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him in possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

† Physcon, by this means, with an army which seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in the island. Philometer, who had gone thither in person, beat him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had so cruelly injured. Philometer's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all Physcon had done against him, it was expected, that having him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing; and, not contented to forgive him his faults, he even restored him Lybia and Cyrenaica, and added further some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader

\* A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Leg. c. xxxii. Id. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

† A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.



who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments which arise from nature, and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

### SECTION III.

OCTAVIUS, THE ROMAN AMBASSADOR IN SYRIA, IS THERE KILLED.—DEATH OF  
JUDAS MACCABEUS.

\* WE have seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great, after the battle of Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burned, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and disposed all things else in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person, named Leptinus, was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon Octavius † whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lysias, the regent of the kingdom, had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome to justify the king, and to protest that he had no share in that action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, to signify, by that silence, their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, of which they reserved the examination and punishment to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him among those of the great men who had lost their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the disgust of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape without saying any thing. The event soon showed him how much they were in the right. As the senate had always the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification of a second denial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius, the historian, who was at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with the utmost warmth, to put it in immediate execution, with secrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of a hunting match, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel, bound for Tyre, that waited for him.‡ It was three days before it was known at Rome, that he

\* A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 152. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Leg. cxiv. et. cxxii. Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

† This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained that honour. Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4. Octavius, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

‡ That ship carried to Tyre, according to custom, the first fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

had stolen away. All that the senate could do, was some days after to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

\* Demetrius, having landed at Tripoli, in Syria, a report spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupater was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupater and Lysias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne, without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer, of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of Soter, or Saviour, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupater had made high priest of the Jews, after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood by following the impious custom of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; this man gathered together all the apostate Jews who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judea, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, advancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judea at the head of an army, and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty, and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle; and of his army of 35,000 men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple when he threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reasonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from in-

\* 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. et 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. xlii. Apian. in Syr. p. 11. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

teresting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valor, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. It was therefore, he thought it necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprises of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened him in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned, Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judea. Judas had only 3000 men with him, when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except 800 men: Judas, with that small number, through an excess of valor and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by multitude. His loss was deplored throughout all Judea and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recal Bacchis.

\* Demetrius indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negotiation. Finding at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length by their means what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

† To cultivate their amity, he sent the same Menochares the following year, in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed 10,000 pieces of gold,‡ as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in-

\* A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb. Leg. cxx.

† A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Leg. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Leg. xxv.

‡ They were worth more than 10,000 pistoles.

Syria at that time, had, upon all occasions, taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

\* Demetrius, who found himself without war or occupation, began to give into pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and shut himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and, on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished; in a word, there was a general suspense of government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown if the enterprise succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed. † The mal contents were supported underhand by Ptolemy Philometer, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. These three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing somebody to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, at the same time Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of mal versation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man, named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him, and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

‡ When he was fully prepared, he began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and

\* A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

† Polyb. Leg. cxxxviii. and cxi. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50.

‡ A. M. 3851. Ant. J. C. 153.

solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the mal contents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judea, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander, seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high priest, granted him the title of "Friend of the king," sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still outbid him to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had the truest interest of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high priesthood from him, and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it which he disposed of at pleasure.

\* The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valor nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved himself, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus to Cnidos a city of Caria, in order to their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order, if any accident should happen, that they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

† It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriscus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

\* A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152.

† A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151.

\* The two competitors for the crown of Syria having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valor and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned 12 years. Alexander, by this victory, found himself master of the empire of Syria.

† As soon as Alexander saw himself at repose, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

Onias, son of Onias III. having been disappointed of the high priesthood, after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. ‡ He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometer and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and most intimate confident. He made use of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes. At the same time the high priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretels this event in these terms; || "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts; the one shall be called the city of destruction." (M. Rollin says, the city of the sun, or Heliopolis.) "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it."

The event here foretold by Isaiah, is one of the most singular, and, at the same time, the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer sacrifices to God, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more, in consequence, to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter in a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

\* A. M. 3854 Ant. J. C. 150.

† Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.

‡ 1 Maccab. x. 51—66.

|| Isa. xix. 18—21.

\* Alexander Bala, finding himself in the peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius's son, who had continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood royal he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of counsel and action. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion very favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of mal contents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes and quitted his seraglio to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army, formed of all the troops he could assemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father in law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander; but his success did not answer his design, and in one day he lost above 8000 men.

† Ptolemy Philometer, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son in law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to join him at Jœppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius, against the life of Philometer. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in reascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, belived it time to show their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

\* A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. Liv. Epit. lib. 1. Justin. 1. xxv. c. 2. Joa. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

† A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

\* Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with 500 horse to Zabdiel an Arabian prince,† with whom he had intrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died some few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometer king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of 5 years, and the second after one of 35. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of Nicator, that is to say, the conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

#### SECTION IV.

##### PHYSCON ESPOUSES CLEOPATRA, AND ASCENDS THE THRONE OF EGYPT.

‡ CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defence, caused Onias and Dositheus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador in Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accomodated affairs. It was agreed, that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon, given to this prince, was only a nickname. That which he took himself was Evergetes, which signifies the benefactor. The Alexandrians changed it into that of Cacoergetes, that is to say, on the contrary, "one who delights in doing harm;" a surname to which he had the justest title.

¶ In Syria affairs went on but little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man; and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and

\* A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145.

† He is called Emalcuel in the Maccabees.

‡ A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. & 8. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

¶ Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20—37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.



had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans and some other foreigners in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and, being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne; but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan however, seeing every thing quiet in Judea, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusations, which had been formed against him to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes, for the sum of 300 talents,\* which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

† The king being returned to Antioch, and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotes, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting an hardy enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by the favour of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been intrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the soldiery, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order to his being restored to his rights.

His view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown to himself as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not give in to it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him, to solicit and press him. At length, between the force of importunity and presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

\* 300 000 crowns.

† Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. iii. Strab. l. xvii. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

\* Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem with vigor ; but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people had conceived an invincible aversion for his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him 3000 men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly, that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of 120,000 men, and invested the palace with design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed the multitude with fire and sword, burned a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near 100,000 of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded peace ; which was granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judea and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country, laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius always continuing his cruelties, tyranny and oppression, put many more persons to death for the last sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising, and making him experience the most dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though the sum of 300 talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigor as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other mal contents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the surname of Theos, which signifies the god.

Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him, and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Coelosyria and Palestine. Of the troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

\* Tryphon, seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design, than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well even to sound him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at whatever price it cost him, of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judea with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of 40,000 men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except 3000 men, of which he kept only 1000 about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprise the 2000 men who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews however did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications begun by Jonathan at Jerusalem; and when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king 100 talents; † that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly that this proposal was no more than a feint; however, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstanding, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judea, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs and obliged him to retire.

‡ Tryphon, on his return into winter quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out, that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared

\* 1 Maccab. xii. 39—54. xiii. 1—30. Joseph: Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. iv.

† 100,000 crowns.

‡ A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 145. Diod. Leg. 21.

himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of victory, of 10,000 pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted upon the inscription, as if it had come from him.

\*The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea,† and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince a confirmation of the high priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty of all past acts of hostility, upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

‡ Demetrius at length recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the east, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians having almost overrun the whole east, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and the Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to suffer that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, extremely solicited Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the east. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himself master of the east, with that increase of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As soon as he appeared in the east, the Elymeans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; but at length under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, son of Priapatus, a valient and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Ar-

\* 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40.

† A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42, and xiv. 38—41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

‡ Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9, l. xli. c. 5, and 6. 1 Maccab. xv. 1—49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9—12. Orosius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

saces founded, and his son Arsaces II. established and fixed this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned 15 years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference\* to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced, that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state, than the advancement of his own family; and to forget, in some measure, that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having subdued the Medes, Elymeans, Persians, and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by showing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him, for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, out of which he composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wise customs of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valor with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people at Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of sove-

\* Non multo post decessit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium; plus regio quam patrio deberi noamini ratus, potiusque patriæ quam libertis consulendum. Justin.

reign, as well as that of high priest; they declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

\* When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children, in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. These desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should choose rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promised, on that condition, to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged that she observed no measures any further, and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their right. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

† He wrote a letter to Simon, wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, of whom he promised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he should ascend the throne.

‡ Accordingly, the beginning of the following year, he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to 120,000 foot, and 8000 horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land, with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea to Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he pos-

\* A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140.

† 1 Maccab. xv. 1—41. xvi. 1—10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, and 13.

‡ A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139.

essed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called Sidetes, or the hunter, from the word zidah, which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judea, by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence, caused the consul Piso, to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia,\* Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in consequence they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interest of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judea under the command Cendebeus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

† Physcon had reigned 7 years in Egypt. History relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was there a prince so abandoned to debauch, and at the same time so cruel and bloody. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in public the extravagances of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax, was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Pyscon, and soon became his captain general, and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

‡ But in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that first minister were no longer capable of restraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometer his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants,

\* This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner among the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes, nor Tryphon.

† A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Wales. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184, and l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, 2.

‡ A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136.

to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whosoever would come and settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragements and advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well. The houses that had been abandoned were given to them, and all the rights, privileges and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants. By this means the city was re-peopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; in a word, in every place to which these illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors of Alexander had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries, and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his museum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second and third following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria, became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that, when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools in those countries for that purpose, and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive wherever they were dispersed; that is to say, throughout what we call the whole east, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the west, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crowds to \*re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They discharged themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice, and address, and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences, that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts where they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent persons of such extraordinary merit

\* Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273. and l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Leg. xxxii.



amongst them, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that, at their entry, Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, who was Panæthius the philosopher, and five domestics.\* Not his domestics, says an historian, but his victories were considered; he was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Though during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp soon assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their own eyes, or were informed upon the places themselves, the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation; the fertility of its soil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and shall be obliged to give further proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his † body sufficiently corresponded with that of his mind; nothing was ever worse put together. His statue was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nickname of Physcon. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff that all his deformity might be seen through it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panæthius, told him in his ear, smiling, "The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing " their king walk on foot."

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprising to see, in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of

\* Cum per socios et exterarum gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriarum numerabantur; nec quantum auri et argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis onus secum ferret, æstimabatur. Val. Max.

† Quam cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim et vultu deformis, et statura brevis et sagina ventris non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam fæditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicendo præberentur, quæ omni studio occultantæ pudibundo viro erant. Justin. l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus says, *πρὸς πεδῖβος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως διαστῆναι*. Which the interpreter translates, Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixus; instead of, nisi propter Scipionem.

dissoluteness and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be found amongst the Pagans. Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

\* Attalus, king of Pergamus, died about the times of which we now speak. His nephew, of the same name, called also Philometer succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could; and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity; than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometer governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been taken very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel of nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury in this manner the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to show himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and ate no longer in public. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himself, and sowing all sorts of venomous as well as wholesome herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He passed all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagances of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He took it into his head to practice the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass, to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

† He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Endemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal

\* A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. P. ut. in Demet. p. 897. Diod. Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.

† A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 138.

article was expressed in these terms, \* "Let the Roman people inherit all my fortunes." As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to this effect; that all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed among the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people, which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

† Aristonicus however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was active to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtesan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

‡ As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

§ Notwithstanding such powerful supports, having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

§ He sent Aristonicus to Rome in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and some time after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of a disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phoea, which had declared against the Romans, as well in the last war, as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of

\* Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. and xxxvii. c. 1. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oros. l. v. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

† A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132.

‡ A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130.

† A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

§ A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

Phoea, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. As just as their indignation was against Phoea, they could not refuse that favour to the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war; but after his death they dispossessed his son, the great Mithridates of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a stepmother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned five of her children, and the sixth would have had the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Megara, whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

\* Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shown there as a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having forged a false will of Attalus's,† in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right; but it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprising that Horace in one of his odes, seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate that they had attained the succession by fraud.

Neque Attali  
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.      HOR. OD. XVIII. l. 51.  
Nor have I seiz'd an heir unknown,  
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

However, there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will, without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

## SECTION V.

SIDETES TAKES JERUSALEM, AND THEN MAKES WAR AGAINST THE PARTHIANS.—PHYSCON'S CRUELTY AND DEATH.

‡ SIMON having been slain by treason, with two of his sons, John, another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high priest and prince of the Jews, in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

\* A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126.

† Simulto impio testamento filium ejus (Eumenes) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxere. Apud. Sallust. in Fragm.

‡ A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 135. 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. Eclog. i. p. 99—101.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judea, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valor. Reduced at length to the last extremity, for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's person, pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserve to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judea; the peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of 500 talents,\* which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and because it could not be immediately ratified, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

† Scipio Africanus the younger, going to command in Spain, during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal, in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the quæstor,‡ to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

|| Demetrius Nicator had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in

\* 500,000 crowns.

† A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Epit. Liv. l. lvii.

‡ The quæstor was the treasurer of the army.

|| A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9, and 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210, and l. x. p. 439. and l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq. l. xix. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon the throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprized of this design or not, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthian's late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the east, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army was upwards of 80,000 men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, and might amount to about 300,000. There may be some exaggeration in this account; but if two thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those who administered to it. \* Gold and silver glittered universally, even upon the legs of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the east, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the east. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form a body, in case of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they insulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests, that nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was overpowered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. † Plutarch relates a saying of his, very much to his honour. One day having lost himself a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people who received him in the best manner they could, without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting

\* Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuisse epulas non ad bella, pergerent. Justin.

† A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them, by way of reproach, "Since I have taken you into my service I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday."

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors, and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

\* Antiochus being dead, Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and divisions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phenicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants depended in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

† Phraates, flushed with his great successes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, which found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of disquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pursued by Antiochus, as we have seen, he had demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated, and having no further occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in that prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice, and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had suffered, during their captivity; and, as soon as the armies engaged, they went over

\* Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1.

† A. M. 3875. Ant J. C. 129. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1. and l. xlii. c. 1. and 2.

to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who, for his glorious actions, was surnamed the Great.

\* During all these revolutions in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometer, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to re-people it, and supply the places of those his first cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young men in the city, of whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

† But first, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action; and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view

\* A. M. 3874. An. J. C. 130. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2—7. Oros l. v. c. 10. Epit. l. lix. lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 374—376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

† A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.



of the public, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general; and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Physcon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physcon; it was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and set him at liberty; for finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometer, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted the proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea, with many other cities of Syria, followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra, the daughter, had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life time of her father Philometer. But Demetrius having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had repossessed himself of Syria; she kept her court at Ptolemais when her mother came to her.

\* Physcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-assumed the government; for after the defeat of Marsyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppose him. After having employed sometime in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he set up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon lent him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no sooner in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pretensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the person who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus in Celæsyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and

caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra reserved to herself part of the kingdom; Zebina had all the rest; and to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages, which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

\* He had sent the preceding year an embassy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews contrary to the decree of the Romans; and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken several cities; had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places, of which he had made cession to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem; upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews, from the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute or other subjection. It was also concluded, that the Syrians should make amends for all losses that the Jews had sustained from them, in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

† At the time we speak of, incredible swarms of grasshoppers laid Africa waste in an unheard of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Lybia, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than 800,000 souls.

‡ We have said, that Cleopatra had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator, her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear, that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable how a woman and a mother, could be capable of committing so horrid and excessive a crime; but when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming it-

\* Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

† A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Oros. l. v. c. 11.

‡ A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Ap-  
pian. in Syr. p. 132.

self with poniards, and from having recourse to poison ; because, urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him ; but he found means to reconcile them. They submitted, and he pardoned them with the most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year ; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupater, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years duration against them. He was but 12 years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

\* Cleopatra, after having killed her eldest son, believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority she intended to retain entirely to herself. She rightly distinguished, that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant, whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that should set up for it. She therefore caused her other son, Antiochus to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of the government ; and as that prince was very young, being no more than 20 years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of Grypus,† taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him Philometer ; but that prince in his medals took the title Epiphanes.

‡ Zebina having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius-Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expenses of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

¶ After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus, believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herself absolute mistress

\* A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123.

† *Grypus*, in Greek, signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

‡ A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 122.

¶ A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

of the government of Syria again, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her in it, during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day, as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself; and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who by her unheard of crimes, had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of three kings of Syria\* and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands, and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother, Antiochus of Cyzicum, occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

† Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, after having reigned 29 years from the death of his brother Philometer, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded with more crimes than his.

## SECTION VI.

PTOLEMY LATHYRUS SUCCEEDS PHYSCON.—CONTINUATION OF THE WARS IN SYRIA AND EGYPT.

† PHYSCON, at his death, left three sons. The first, named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two sons she should think fit to choose. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to choose him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recal him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena, his younger sister, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

\* The three kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenean, by Antiochus Sidetes.

† Porphy. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

† A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian in Mithrid. sub finem et in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67, and l. vi. c. 30. Porphy. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diocl. in Excerpt. Valea. p. 385.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometer; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of Lathyrus.\* However as that is but a kind of nickname, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

† Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judea, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situate upon the propontis, in Mysia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had intrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenean. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenean was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

‡ Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenean. She brought him an army|| for her dowry, to assist him against his competitor. Their forces by that means, being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenean having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her security in that place, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra, his prisoner, into her hands. Though her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a sanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus would not have a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects, from the violence of her rage. He alleged to her the sanctity of the asylum, where her sister had taken refuge; and represented that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenean; that in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially so near relations; that Cleopatra was her sister, and his near relation; § that therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities. ¶ Tryphena, far from giving in to his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealousy; and imagining that it was not from the motive of compassion, but love, that her husband took the part of that unfortunate princess in such a manner; she therefore sent soldiers into

\* *Anthracis* signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin "cicer," from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name had been inconsistent.

† A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 114. ‡ A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113.

|| We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words; "Exercitum Grypi, sollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit;" which shows that Cleopatra having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read "Cypri," instead of "Grypi," which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

§ Her father Physcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

¶ Sed quanto Grypus, abnuitt, tanto furor muliebri pertinacia ascenditur; rata non inisericordiæ hæc verba, sed amoris esse. Justin.

the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands by which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the gods, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands, during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance she might have occasion for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

\* The death of Cleopatra in Syria, did not long remain unpunished. The Cyzicenean returned at the head of a new army, to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

† Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian, but returned a year after into Syria and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenean had Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other excesses.

‡ Whilst the two brothers were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently doted after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenean, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quit- ted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

|| The two brothers, after this victory, returned to the siege, and pressed, the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenean, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the same head, who granted 6000 men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt; those two ministers who, entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them, she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenean joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself, with flying parties and excursions to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raise the siege, in order

\* A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112.

† A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111.

‡ A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. 17—19.

|| A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, desertion, and other accidents, he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no further thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could, in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city and houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed, and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city he caused to be built there, the name of Sebastos,\* in honour of Augustus.

† Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judea, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

‡ But towards the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Besides, having been educated amongst them, and having always professed himself of their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He represented, that it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees; that he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect; "Since you desire that the truth should be told you with freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce the high priesthood, and content yourself with the civil government." Hyrcanus was surprised, and asked him what reasons he had to give him

\* Σεβαστος in Greek signifies Augustus.

† A. M. 3896. Ant. J. C. 108.

‡ A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105.

such counsel. Eleazar replied; that it was known, from the testimony of ancient persons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar\* would have had reason; for the law was express in that point; but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all who were present extremely blamed him for having advanced it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and, in consequence, his right to the high priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judea, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and, in consequence, another life after this. They affected an outside of virtue, regularity and austerity, which acquired them great consideration with the people. But under that impositious appearance, they concealed the greatest vices; sordid avarice; insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and, what was still their more distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the pharisaical tradition with contempt; denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; and admitted no felicity but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the sanhedrim, that is to say, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of the latter sect.

Jonathan therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, insinuated to him that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that, to convince him of the truth, he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the principle of the Pharisees upon the punishment due to him who had so grossly defamed the prince and high priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deserved, was to be scourged and imprisoned. So much lenity in so heinous a case, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited, by a decree, the observation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees, their enemies.

\* Lev. xxiv. 15.



\* Hyrcanus did not long survive this storm ; he died the year following, after having been high priest and prince of the Jews twenty nine years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus, for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

† We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She carried her resentment so high upon this attempt, and some others of a like nature, against her authority, that she took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two sons† and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have some of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an assembly of the people at Alexandria. She caused it to be reported, that he had used them so barbarously for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence, and inflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he designed to kill her, that they immediately rose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent soon after for Alexander her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

‡ Alexander, king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprized that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied ; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost 30,000 men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occasion. The same evening he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put into cauldrons, in order to their being dressed, as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed that his troops ate human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought ? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

\* A. M. 3997. Ant. J. C. 107.

† Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4.

‡ Those two sons died before him.

|| A. M. 3999. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. 20, 21.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year, Alexander had been undone ; for, after so considerable a loss, it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

\* That princess saw plainly that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judea and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her ; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time, to transport her troops ; and, embarking with them herself, landed in Phœnicia.† She carried with her a great sum of money and her richest jewels. For their security, in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœlosyria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias, who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself, with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia. He was mistaken. ‡ The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was reduced to return into Palestine, and took up his winter quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra, however, pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigor, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was her hatred for her son Lathyrus ; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court observed to her, that she had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of Judea, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person ; they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, engaged with her in the same cause ; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of society ; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually used his reasons and credit, which he employed to the utmost, for the preservation of his countryman and relation,

\* A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 108.

† Appian. in Mithrid. p. 186. Et de bel. civil. p. 414.

‡ A. M. 3902. Ant. J. C. 102.

that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigor ! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

\* Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her side, retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

† Being informed upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus, with Antiochus the Cyzicenean, and that, with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt ; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time, a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him in a condition to attack his brother, the Cyzicenean, with vigor. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenean had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned ; that prince did not believe himself safe near her, and chose to abandon the throne, and retire ; preferring a quiet life, without fear, in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed upon to return ; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king ; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself ; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

‡ The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned 27 years. He left five sons ; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him ; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins ; Demetrius Eucharès, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

|| Ptolemy Apion, son of Physcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the country with tyrants ; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure ; but this was never

\* A. M. 3903. Ant. J. C. 101.

† Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4.

‡ A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

|| A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5.

properly effected, till the period when the country was reduced into the form of a Roman province.

\* Antiochus the Cyzicenean seized Antioch, after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom ; but Seleucus, who was in possession of many other good cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

† Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia, who had been kept in hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians. This happened 25 years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

‡ The Cyzicenean, who saw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle ; but being defeated, and taken prisoner, he was put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself master of the whole empire of Syria ; but did not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenean, who made his escape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus, || where he caused himself to be crowned king. § From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of gross subsidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

¶ Antiochus and Philip, the twin sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise, against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selena the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to retain part of the empire, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Eucharis, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow ; for though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip however, still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge among the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

\* A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Porphy. in Græc. Scal.

† A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. 11. p. 532.

‡ A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphy. in Græc. Scal.

|| An island and city of Phœnicia. § A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93.

¶ A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time. This was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made himself king of Coelosyria, and supported himself in it for three years.

\* Affairs were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to get rid of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner, for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidants; who, all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of heaven more distinguished, or more dreadful, than upon these princes and people. We see here a sad complication of the blackest crimes, perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, disputing treachery and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it in the loudest manner.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having collected some ships, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

† The Syrians, weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus, for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils those divisions occasioned, and restore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus, others of Ptolemy king of Egypt; but the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes, king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him.

\* A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 550.

† A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Justin. l. xl. c. 1 and 2. Appian in Syr. p. 112; Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years, by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recal from that office, till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action against Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœlo-syria, and reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Some time after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been re-placed upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken, after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigor, that from being the greatest and richest city till then in Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

\* Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that house, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla, at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir male of the defunct. He was the son of that Alexander, who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and in consequence, dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and might be said to have grown into fashion among princes and princesses.

† Soon after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica also did the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty; twenty years had passed since, during which term, sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to except Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

## SECTION VII.

POMPEY DISPOSSESSES ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS OF THE KINGDOM OF SYRIA.—  
TROUBLES IN JUDEA AND EGYPT.

\* SOME troubles which happened in Egypt, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made Selenæ, the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus, and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affair which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy from which he had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of, to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres was at that time prætor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned; the tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He invites Verres to supper in his turn; exposes all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and not a few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine, made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand, one after another, praises and admires them; the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

From thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to rifle Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of showing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again, to desire that he would lend him the vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider it more exactly, as he said. The king sent him that also.

But to crown all; the kings of Syria, of whom we speak, had carried a branch scone with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the capitol, which had been burnt during

\* A. M. 5931. Ant. J. C. 73. Clc. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61—67.

the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding ; but that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it ; in order, that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprise might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendour to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres was informed of all this by some means or other ; for the prince had taken care to keep the sconce concealed ; not that he feared nor suspected any thing, but that few people might see it, before exposed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let nobody else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the sconce secretly to Verres, well covered from sight ; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a present worthy of a prince, worthy of a king of Syria, worthy of the capitol ; for it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with the materials ; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple.

The officers of Antiochus having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion. One day, two days, several days passed, and the sconce was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day ; but it was not returned then. At length, he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it ? That very sconce, which he knew from the prince himself, was to be set up in the capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action ; the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms ; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alleged for his reason that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The king upon that withdrew to the public place ; and with tears in his eyes declared, with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a sconce of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other vessels of gold and jewels which Verres had from him ; but that to see that sconce taken from him by violence, was a mis-



fortune and an affront, that made him inconsolable. That though by his own, and the intention of his brother, that scone was already consecrated to Jupiter, however he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne ; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. \* Pompey deprived him of his kingdom, during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them, when they heard it told, that in a Roman province, a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence ! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with, in this place, was not peculiar to him ; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into the provinces ; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance ; “ We have seen for several years,” says the same Cicero, in one of his orations against Verres, “ and have suffered in silence, the wealth of all nations to be transferred “ into the hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, “ Miletus, Chio, Samos, in fine all Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now “ inclosed in some of the country houses of those rich and unjust men of “ rapine, whilst money is universally a prodigious rarity every where else ; “ and we have just reason to believe, that ourselves connive in all these “ crying and terrible disorders ; as those who commit, take no manner of “ pains to conceal them, nor to hide their thefts and depredations from the “ eyes and knowledge of the public.”†

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men’s most secret retirements, to use that expression, to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests ; to which however we must return.

The reign of Alexander Janneus in Judea, had always been involved in troubles, and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be rid by them.‡ His death did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king’s last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir ; but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.

|| Nothing but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians weary of their king Alexander, took up

\* A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. † Cic. in Ver. ult. de suppl. n. 125, 126.

‡ A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. et de bell. Judaic. i. 4. and A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

|| A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 65. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xi. Trogus in Prolog. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 251.

arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed Auletes, that is to say, "the player upon the flute," because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him; Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favorable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. \* Some were of opinion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Lybia, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed besides, that this enterprise might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands; so that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favor it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state, are war, victory, and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood, must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel nor inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account, I mean seduction; when to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

\* Cic. Orat. ii. in Rullum. n. 41—43.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic, during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they were more sollicitous either in public or private, with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude; the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendour to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates; and next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they had of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to choose; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore his subjects to their entire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury; and the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependence upon mute laws, that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince, therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the gift the king had made them of it, at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, furious to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened.

sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself and its independence long against them? There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people, and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection; for they made a great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced, by reiterated defeats, to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind; and, generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to assure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republics of Greece in the times of their ancestors; so that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniences, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors; but those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, against each other, were attended, and still less to the violences and ravages occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example; but there was always a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

\* Clodius who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, amongst whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Aulctes,

to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small a one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans, in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had credit and address enough to have the justest of the Romans elected; I mean Cato,\* whom he removed from the republic, under the pretext of an honourable commission, that he might not find him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs he meditated. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that affront, says an historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vices sufficiently authorized the seizing all his fortunes.

Cato upon his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high priesthood of the temple of Venus, at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable for his honourable subsistence. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, though he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby showed that he loved them better than he did himself, by title, king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost 7000 talents, (1,050,000 pounds, sterling.) Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be sold publicly; reserving only to himself a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the mask, and show themselves, not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. "The Roman people," says Cicero, "instead of making it their honour, and almost a duty, as formerly, to re-establish the kings, their enemies, whom they had conquered, upon their thrones, now see a king, their ally, or at least a constant friend to the republic, who had

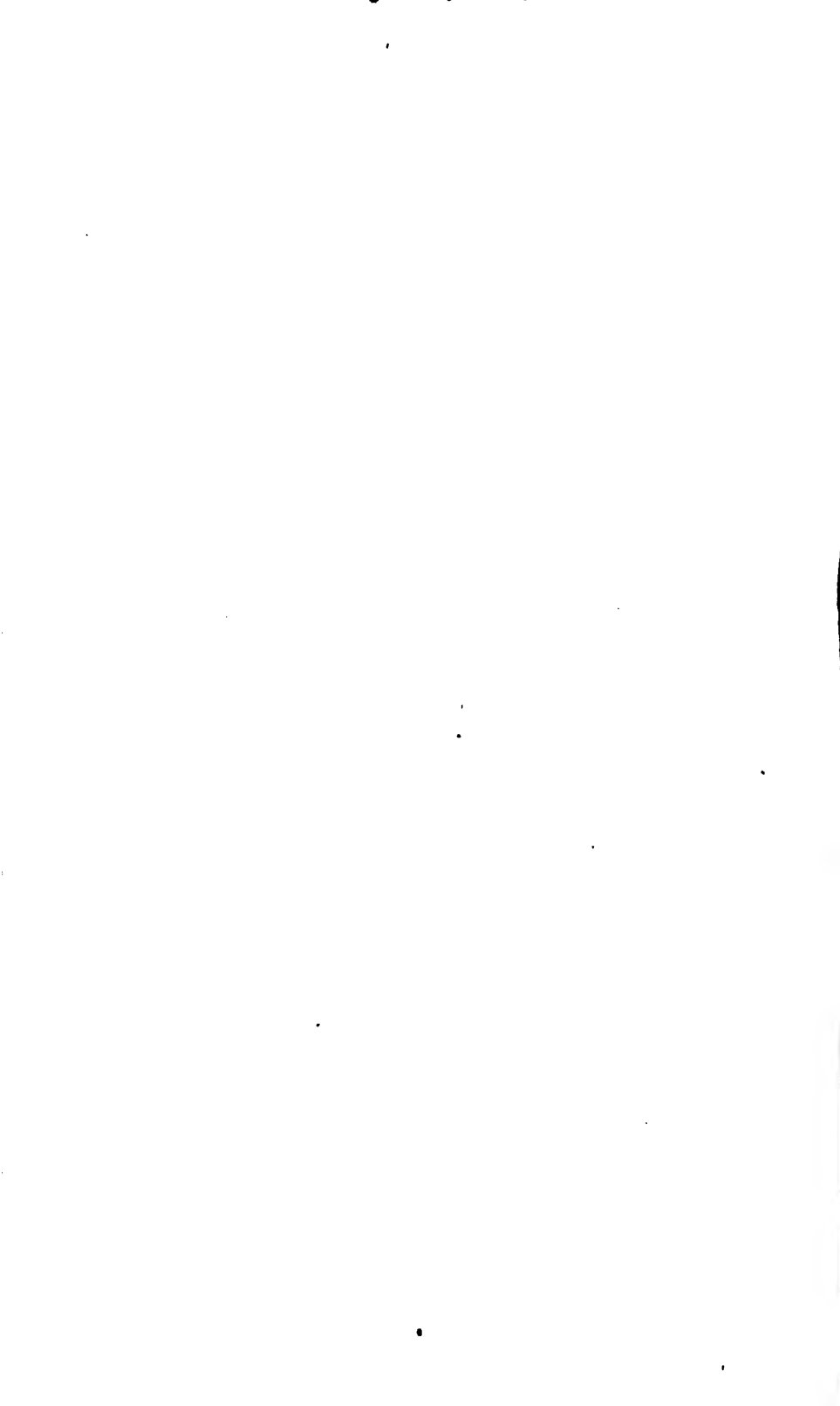
\* Plut. in Cat. p. 776.

“ never done them any wrong, of whom neither the senate nor any of our  
“ generals had ever the least complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left  
“ him by his ancestors in tranquillity, plundered on a sudden without  
“ any formality, and all his effects sold by auction almost before his eyes,  
“ by order of the same Roman people. This,” continues Cicero, “ shows  
“ other kings upon what they are to rely for their security ; from this fatal  
“ example they learn, that amongst us there needs only the secret intrigue  
“ of some seditious tribune, for depriving them of their thrones, and plun-  
“ dering them at the same time, of all their fortunes.\*”

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato the justest and most upright man of those time, but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the pagans ! should lend his name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shows, however, in the same discourse I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reserve for the following book the history of that prince, which merits a particular attention.

\* Cic. Orat. pro. Sexto, n. 57.



## BOOK XX.

THE

## HISTORY

OF

# ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS

## CONTINUED.

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### PLAN.

THE twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments : the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great ; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus ; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

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### ARTICLE I.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM ARISTOBULUS TO HEROD THE IDUMEAN.

AS the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of it what was most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed of it. Dean Prideaux, whom I have used here, may be also consulted to the same effect.

### SECTION I.

REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS I. WHICH LASTED TWO YEARS.

\* HYRCANUS, high priest of the prince of the Jews, had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus ; the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judea from the Babylonish captivity, had done besides himself. The con-

\* A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de Bell. Jud. 1. 3.



junction seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison to themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonius the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government; but some small time after, upon a false accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in prison during his life.

\* When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed, he entered into a war with the Itureans, and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumeans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country, and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmoneans. It shows that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Iturea, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Coelosyria, on the north east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh, on the other side of the Jordan, and territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Iturea to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonius, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonius the king's favour, took the advantage of his illness, to alienate the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonius soon returned to Jerusalem, after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonius went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

## SECTION II.

REIGN OF ALEXANDER JANNEUS, WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY SEVEN YEARS.

\* SALOME, the wife of Aristobulus, immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person,† he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner, 42 years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra, and Alexander the youngest of her sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of 10 months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated on the other side of the Jordan; but not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and lost 10,000 men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it; for, from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander; and, as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

‡ This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthedon, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. Those two posts, that were only a few miles from Gaza, keep it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza, for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of Jordan, and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

|| As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege the city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valor and prudence that acquired him great reputation. § His own brother Lydimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as bad as himself, and surrendered

\* A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de Bell. Jud. 1. 3.

† Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 8.

‡ A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100.

|| A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98.

§ A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he gave his soldiers permission to kill, plunder and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear; for the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length, he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

\* Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous manner. At the feast of the tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering a solemn sacrifice, in quality of high priest, upon the altar of burnt offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of slave; a reproach, which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazar had presumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of 6000 of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of 6000 men, who attended him every where.

† When Alexander saw the storm which had rose against him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to Jerusalem, ‡ the Jews, incensed at his defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, that they should find no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valor, and who, besides, had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

|| Alexander having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day. When they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than 50,000 men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he

\* A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

† A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94.

‡ A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

|| A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.

abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, that brought a quartan ague upon him,\* of which he died at three years end, after having reigned 27.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus ; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra, his wife, should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

### SECTION III.

REIGN OF ALEXANDRA, THE WIFE OF ALEXANDER JANNEUS, WHICH CONTINUED NINE YEARS.

† ACCORDING to the advice of her husband, Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so, she only conformed to the last will of her husband.

By this step she gained so much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory, and, instead of the invectives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom, till then, they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors ; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees stood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been ; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son, Hyrcanus, to be received as high priest ; he was then near 30 years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty, all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them ; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one ; and, not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less, by way of precaution against a greater evil.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right sense of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

\* A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

† A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. et de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

\* The Pharisees always continued their persecutions against those who had opposed them, under the late king. They made them accountable for all the faults and cruelties with which they had thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage among such as still survived.

The friends and partizans of the late king, seeing no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles; that it was very hard at present, under her government, that every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and to see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of inquiries, or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to their seeking an asylum elsewhere; at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them; but it was out of her power to do for them all she desired, for she had given herself masters, by engaging to act in nothing without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the inquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer; and that therefore they would never come into it. On the other side, the queen believed, that she ought not to give her consent that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into the places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death.† As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places in which, according to a plan he had given of them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people, as well as the army, were entirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came

\* A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. et de Bel. Jud. 1. 4.

† A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standard of Aristobulus ; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect ; besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design ; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle with such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However she appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle or Baris\* as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of the troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris ; his partisans took refuge in the temple. Some time after, they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

#### SECTION IV.

##### REIGN OF ARISTOBULUS II. WHICH CONTINUED SIX YEARS.

† IT was agreed by the accommodation, that Aristobulus should have the crown and high priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortune. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this ; for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendant of Hyrcanus their eldest son with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown.‡ But when he saw all his measures broke by the deposition of Hyrcanus. and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

\* Baris was a castle situate upon a high rock, without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock

† A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. et de Bell. Jud. 1—5.

‡ A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. et de Bell. Jud. 1—5.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, for aid to reinstate himself. After various events which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria.\* He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings; that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high priest, who, without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers; that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but, that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost 1000 Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly to support, by their testimony, what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, that Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity; that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the public affairs; that the people despised him, and that he, Aristobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendour and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanor, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern, that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore dismissed the two brothers respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judea, and that he would then regulate their affairs, and make the necessary dispositions in all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judea, armed his subjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra, his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard; but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprized till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judea. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the

\* Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id. de Bell. Jud. 1—5.

castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so, and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three time, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolution to keep the crown, made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When on the contrary he had the least reason to suspect, that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety, visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place, where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho ; there he received the news of Mithridate's death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinus, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money ; but when that lieutenant general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation, and the works which had been made ; and had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place, especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner ; but the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general ; and as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley, which surrounded it, to be broke down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three months entire, and would have done so three months more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprise, but for the superstitious rigor with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inac-



tion upon the sabbath days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than 12,000 persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries and disorder, of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with surprising unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty; happy, and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit as the letter of it.

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high priest was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to 2000 talents,\* in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the god adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It hath been observed that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory.

## SECTION V.

REIGN OF HYRCANUS II. WHICH CONTINUED TWENTY FOUR YEARS.

† POMPEY, having put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judea, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judea, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

‡ Hyrcanus finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after

\* 300,000 pounds sterling.

† A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

‡ A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.\* He made great alterations in the civil government; for, from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration.

† Crassus, upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopped at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of 10,000 talents, that is to say, about 1,500,000 pounds sterling.

‡ Cæsar, after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed, that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judea, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judea, under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinus was abolished, and the government of Judea re-established upon the ancient footing.

|| Antipater caused the government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasæl his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod, his second son.

§ Cæsar, at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judea, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

¶ Pacorus, son of Orodes, king of Parthia, had entered Syria, with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judea, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasæl, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasæl in chains into his hands. Phasæl, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off; for, according to the levitical law,\*\* it was requisite that the high priest should be perfect in all his members. After having mutilated him, he gave him back to the

\* Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de Bell. Jud. 1. 6.

† A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54.

‡ A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. de Bell. Jud. i. 8.

|| Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de Bell. Jud. 1. 8.

§ A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17.

¶ A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 26. Id. de Bell. Jud.

i. 11.

\*\* Levit. xxi. 16—24.

Parthians, that they might carry him into the east, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judea.\* He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Anthony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected; for, instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for Aristobulus,† whose sister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Anthony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases, for it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judea by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily to Judea. He employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

## SECTION VI.

### REIGN OF ANTIGONUS, OF ONLY TWO YEARS DURATION.

‡ IT was not so easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judea, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

|| Herod, who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Anthony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judea.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other; but the unforeseen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and

\* Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

† Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

‡ A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

|| A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 13.

thereby grand daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed, in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonean family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affections, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigor, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least 60,000 men. The place, however, held out against them many months with exceeding resolution; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken; but the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than them, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

\* The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city; and, to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus seeing all lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius, in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Anthony, as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe, as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest, till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money.† He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmoneans, after a duration of 129 years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabeus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judea.

This singular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumean, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who, at his death, foretold to his 12 sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak; ‡ "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." The sceptre or rod, for the Hebrew signifies both, implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

\* A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37. † Joseph, Antiq. xiv. 27. ‡ Gen. xlix. 10.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah, the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes; the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelitish, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published.\*

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod, the Idumean, and in consequence a stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were first taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy; it was no longer a body subsisting, from which the magistrates were taken. It was manifest, therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? In the times of Titus Vespasian and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like these, when we meet them in the course of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He had no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being; but it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth shall sooner pass away than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Anthony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

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## ARTICLE II.

### ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE PARTHIANS.

**T**HE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the east. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be 474 years; of which 254 were before Jesus Christ, and 220 after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammeus. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

\* I have observed elsewhere what gave Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it, from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus, at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed Theos.

† Some time after, Seleucus Callinicus, who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner; that happened in the reign of Tiridates called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

‡ Antiochus, surnamed the Great, was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the east, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the || king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in reconquering the revolted provinces. § Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was obliged to come to an accommodation.

Priapatius, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown, at his death, to Phraates I. his eldest son.

¶ Phraates left it to Mithridates, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

\*\* Phraates II. succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

†† Artabanus, his uncle, reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was Mithridates II. of whom Justin ‡‡ says that his great actions acquired him the surname of Great.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as an hostage. |||| The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia, by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

§§ Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

• A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254.

† A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. ‡ A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.

|| The Abbe Longueue, in his Latin dissertation upon the Arsacides, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatius. Justin says nothing of them.

§ A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. ¶ A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

\*\* A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. †† A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

‡‡ Justin. l. xviii. c. 3. p. 115.

|||| A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Justin. l. xviii. c. 3.

§§ A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

\* It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

† Demetrius Eucerus, who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Berea, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.

‡ Mithridates II. died, after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria, and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected Mnaskires, and after him Sinatrocces, kings, of whom almost nothing more is known than their names.

|| Phraates, the son of the latter, was he who caused himself to be surnamed the God.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter which Salust has preserved

§ Pompey having been appointed, in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

¶ After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. Mithridates, his eldest son, takes his place.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almost at the same time. Artavasdes, his son, succeeds him.

\*\* Mithridates, expelled his kingdom, either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne, but without effect. He takes up arms in his own defence.

†† Besieged in Babylon, and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who, considering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, causes him to be put to death, by which means Orodes becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

‡‡ But he found enough to employ him abroad, that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, with Pompey, for the second time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account, because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the

\* A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

† A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.

‡ A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

|| A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

§ A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

¶ A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

\*\* Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

†† A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55.

‡‡ A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. Plut. in Crass. p. 552—554.

government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia; he flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He had already overrun in thought Bactria and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the east. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included; but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forbodes no success.

His departure had, besides, something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going, and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he was to pass, and set a cauldron full of fire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium, and though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost abundance of ships in his passage. When he arrived in Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city; upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect; "King of the Galatians, 'you begin full late to build a city at the twelfth hour of the day.'"<sup>\*</sup> "And you, lord Crassus," replied Dejotarus, "are not too early in setting out to make war against the Parthians." For Crassus was at that time upwards of 60 years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

† He had been informed, that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in it there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that use; this was known only to Eleazar the priest who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed 300 minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and an half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant as to imagine any thing sacred with avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold, and notwithstanding made the rest of the treasures his plunder, which amounted to about 1,500,000 pounds sterling. He then continued his route.

Every thing succeeded at first as happy as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with

<sup>\*</sup> The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

† Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.



his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace, and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprise to give a just pretext for a war; so that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion; and, not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus, in consequence, was master of the field, and overran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities with no resistance; and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point in the beginning of autumn, after having left 7000 foot, and 1000 horse, to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he re-passed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him 1000 chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria; for he ought to have gone on without staying, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in a few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire; that if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who against the opinion of his country and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king, their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke, no doubt, of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, "they should have his answer in the city of Seleucia." Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made an answer, laughing, and showing him the palm of his hand; "Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand than Seleucia." The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice that he must prepare for war.

\* As soon as the season would permit, Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time, during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia; he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That gene-

ral, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places Crassus had made himself master of, the year before.

About the same time, some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valor in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled ; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers, who imagined that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had so easily overthrown, and flattered themselves that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabasus, king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of 6000 horse, which were part of his guards ; adding, that besides these, he had 10,000 cuirassiers, and 30,000 foot, at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia. The reasons with which he supported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them ; that if they took this route, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessities ; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions ; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him ; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable ; but Crassus, blinded by Providence, which intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed, in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabasus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self evident in a great measure. But a pagan writer makes the same remark upon it ; this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, that " the Romans under Crassus had no salutary view, " and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be " done, or in no condition to execute it ; so that one would have thought,

“ that condemned and pursued by some divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor minds.” That divinity was unknown to Dion, it was he whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near 4000 horse, and as many light armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than 40,000 men, that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops passed the bridge, he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to reanimate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia ; and concluding his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced ; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to reassure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse, which seemed to have fled suddenly as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes, and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to blows with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemy, their force, and what designs they had in view ; or if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia ; because, by always keeping upon the coast of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to surround him ; and that, with the fleet that might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's quæstor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him entirely qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face ; that its name alone had already spread an universal terror among their troops ; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by this flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, gave entirely into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing instances of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult, from the deep sands, on which the army found itself engaged, in the midst of a vast country, all bare, and of a frightful dryness, where the eye could discover neither end nor boundary, nor the troops hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible ; for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook ; not so much as an hill, or a single blade of grass ; nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabasis ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army ; that the war he had to support, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised ; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order to their uniting their forces against the common enemy ; that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, flew out against those that gave them ; and without vouchsafing to write an answer to Artabasis, he only told his couriers, “ I have not time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia ; I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Artabasis for his treachery.”

Crassus was so full of this Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him a great way into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and gave Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert of the enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians advanced with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him ; he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and, drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve cohorts\* in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that each part, being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius ; the other to his young son Crassus ; and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook, which had not much water, but was however exceedingly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

\* The Roman cohort was a body of infantry consisting of 5 or 600 men, and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night ; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occasion for refreshment should eat under arms in their ranks ; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly, and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops ; and, to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle, than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most frightful noise ; for the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other ; the noise made by these instruments was rude and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses, none disorders the soul more than the hearing ; that it strikes upon and affects it the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had cast the Romans, were quite different when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sunbeams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valor than the effeminacy of his mein seemed to promise ; for he painted after the fashion of the Medes, and like them wore his hair curled, and dressed with art ; whereas the Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks ; but having observed the depth of the hollow square, so well closed and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much astonished to see their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light armed foot to charge them ; but they could not execute those orders long ; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy armed foot.

The disorder and dismay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which

penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, though they had endeavoured it ; so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds ; because drawing their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows, of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force, that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks they were wounded mortally ; and if they quitted them to charge the enemy they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired ; for, of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians ; an operation in reality very wisely conceived ; for, in flying they saved their lives, and in fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes that the barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them, hand to hand, they supported their distress with valor and resolution ; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy there were camels laden with arrows, whither those who had exhausted their quivers wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by them ; for they were principally intent upon him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of 1300 horse, 500 archers, and eight cohorts,\* armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand before a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or rather designed to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, " they don't stand us," pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels. Carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them, they firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till, being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered their error ; for those who seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight ; but those barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy armed horse, and sent out detachments of their light horse, that wheeling about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another ; and by being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow shot at them, and died by slow, but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pains they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments ; for endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated

\* They consisted of near 6000 men.

across their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger and increased their pains.

Most of them died in this manner ; and those who were still alive, were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy armed horse, they showed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and rivetted to the ground ; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves, or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy armed body, covered with iron, and threw himself boldly among the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending ; for his troops, with weak and short javelins, struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather ; whereas the barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits ; for those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls, quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as was the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was heat and thirst ; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which running precipitately upon that heavy armed body, killed themselves upon their spears.

They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way, they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the centre, and made an inclosure with their bucklers, by way of intrenchment, in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the barbarians ; but it happened quite otherwise ; for, in an even place the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation, whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground showing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows which the barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valor.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so sad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, " that the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died out of love for him." A noble sentiment for a young lord ! He ordered them to make off as fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain fighting with exceeding valor. The Parthians made only about 500

prisoners ; and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice that they were put to the rout, and pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage ; and the more, because those who opposed him seemed to abate considerably of their ardour ; for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against young Crassus ; wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid ; and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprised the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what family and relations that young Roman was : " for," said they, " it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valor and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus."

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, showed more constancy and courage on his disgrace, than he had done before ; and running through the ranks, he cried out, " Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father, who has just now lost a son, whose valor you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, without costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigor against adversity."

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to reanimate his troops ; but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous ; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full and strenuous.

The charge being given, in consequence, the light horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, distressed them extremely with their arrows ; whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one great body, except those, who to avoid the arrows of which the wounds occa-



sioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt their audacity was attended with this advantage ; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received ; for the barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such force and vigor, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon nights coming on, the barbarians retired, saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to being dragged to their king Arsaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress ; for they all saw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in the camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight ; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloak, he was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune ; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bare to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him. But seeing him entirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly ; and it being their unanimous opinion that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after, the sick and wounded who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations ; so that the troops who marched foremost were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded, who followed them, upon the beasts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost abundance of time. There were only 300 horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight, at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the sentinels upon the walls ; and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians ; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible

expedition to the bridge Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus ; for that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark, but the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded who had been left there, to the number of 4000 to the sword ; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the gross of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valor, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except 20, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carræ, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it was or not, desired to be better informed, in order to his resolving either to besiege Carræ if Crassus was there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore despatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself, or Cassius, and to say, that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the barbarians who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him ; that this was more advantageous for both parties than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius came in to this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius, bound hand and foot, into their hands. The Romans enraged at such exceeding deceit, told Crassus, that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know his design till the in-

stant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians, in consequence, were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings; to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some, who, suspecting that it was with no good design Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him; and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with 500 horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called Sinnachi, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about 500 men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, still embarrassed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus, in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot, armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors, who carried the fasces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than 12 stadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do was to gain, as soon as possible, another summit of those mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the Sinnachi, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences with a small number of soldiers, to his aid. But he was soon followed by the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival, they charged the barbarians so rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely, that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body, till they were all dead round him, fighting in his defence.

Surena seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigor to the attack, and if the night came on, and the Romans should make the mountains, that it would be impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing the war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity; and, that the effects might agree with their expressions, as soon as the prisoners were released, the barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung, and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said with a loud voice, that, contrary to the king his master's will,

and through the necessity of a just defence, he made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these barbarians was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena, and expressed exceeding joy at it; but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from these barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches, and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to intreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places, where they then were, they might easily save themselves when night came on; he even showed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he only said these few words; "Octavius, and you Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the barbarians sent to him, were two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses, saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy him, that himself and those with him came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to have put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what footing they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners; and advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, "What do I see!" said he, "what! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horseback! Let an horse be brought immediately." He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, "That there was no reason to be surprised that they came to an interview each after the custom of his own country."\* Very good, returned Surena; "from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Ro-

\* Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of the infantry.

"mans; but we must go to prepare and sign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans," added he, "do not always remember your conventions." At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for an horse; but Surena told him there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force, who pressed Crassus forwards. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows; Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those that were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise, some went down and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannæ. They had 20,000 men killed in it, and 10,000 taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius, took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation; she had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations; she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valor she despised, and whom she reckoned already almost amongst her conquests. So complete a victory showed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and of disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It showed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the coun-

tries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shown to them as sights.\* The prisoners taken in that fatal day were kept there in captivity; and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages, to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standard of the barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans, which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace; for themselves they could never forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Anthony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimus, Severus, &c. The surname of Parthicus was the title of which they were fondest, and most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn, did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke; and that nation was like a wall of brass, which, with impregnable force, resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabasu. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving, by the false measures he took, that the Romans were infallibly lost, made an accommodation with Orodes; and, by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent to the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight, and it was said, that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and

\* *Milesne Crassi conjure Barbara*

*Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium,*

*Proh Curia, inversique mores!*

*Consenuit socerorum in armis;*

*Sub rege Mædo Marsus et Appulus,*

*Anciliorum nominis et togæ*

*Qblitus, eternæque Vestæ,*

*Incolumi Jove, et urbe Romæ?*

cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character.\* He perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, instead of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of consummate ability at 30 years of age, and surpassed all men of his times in valor. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man, and was undoubtedly the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation; and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always 1000 camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots for his wives and concubines, and for his guard, 1000 horse completely armed, besides a great number of light armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than 10,000 men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigor, that they were obliged to repossess the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

† The next year the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who disposed every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it; so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that despairing to carry the place they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonía, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That

\* *Destruí per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparensque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenero, pro gratia odium redditur.* Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 18.

† A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. Epist. x. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18—21. vi. 1. 8. vii. 2.

was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who being situate between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with both these provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves free Cilicians,\* and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country as very much pleased all their neighbours whom they perpetually harassed.

It is Cicero himself who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two, among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince or his ministry an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles; the other is written particularly to Cato. This last is a masterpiece; wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us,† that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph; and that he refused it upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey, not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed the Parthians, declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Anthony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who, from the lowest condition of life,‡ had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and

\* Eleuthero Cilices.

† Plut. in Cic. p. 879.

‡ Vell. Patenc. l. iii. c. 65. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.



led in triumph before that general. Supported by the credit of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

\* That general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together, out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interest of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower; for, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt; but if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us; and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got 40 days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judea join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception, when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigor upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle; and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own

\* A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 39. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

country ; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaped by flight, and retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ, 14 years before.

\* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him, but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him ; he seemed to discourse with him ; and, as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times, he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received ; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself ; for he was the most excellent person the house of the Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valor, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendancy she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. At last, he determined however to follow the order of birth, and nominated Phraates, the eldest and most vicious of them all. † He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favor and clemency.

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### ARTICLE III.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF CAPPADOCIA.

**I** HAVE spoken, in several parts of this history, of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their

\* Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis deibus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde, dies ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur ; cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum fiebiliter dolebat. Justin.

† A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

\* Cappadocia is a great country of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whom it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended toward mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major; the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor. They were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. † It is probable that it was about the time Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued 376 years before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes, then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

‡ Ariarathes I. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

|| Having joined the Persians in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honors, by king Ochus.

§ Ariarathes II. son of the former, had lived at peace in his dominions during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire, by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him in possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes, on his side, prepared for a vigorous defence. He had 30,000 foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

Ariarathes III. after the death of his father, escaped into Armenia.

¶ As soon as he was apprized of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other was gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and reascended the throne of his ancestors.

\*\* Ariamnes his eldest son succeeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

\* Strab. l. xii. p. 533, 534.

† A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

‡ A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

|| A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351.

§ A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

¶ A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 502.

\*\* A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 284.

Ariarathes IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

\* Ariarathes V. He married Antiochia, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artful princess, who, finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other Holopernes.† Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

Ariarathes V. supplied his father in law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent ambassadors to Rome ‡ to ask the senate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favor of his father in law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, 200 talents, that is to say, 200,000 crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son in law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the east, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes; but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him a proof of it, in resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. ¶ As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon

\* A. M. 2814. Ant. J. C. 190.

† He is called so by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

‡ Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii. n. 37, and 39.

¶ A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himself the brother of Ariarathes,\* expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited 400 talents† with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the person of Attalus king of Pergamus,‡ who signalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the 400 talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy, notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

¶ Holophernes had retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes; but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

§ Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in the war.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of these six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be of age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She had treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

¶ Ariarathes VII. He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupater, and had two sons by her, Ariarathes VIII. and Ariarathes IX. His brother in law, caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army

\* Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334. and 336.

† 400,000 crowns. † A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

‡ Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

§ A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

¶ A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 91. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes whom he had caused to be assassinated.

Ariarathes VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recal Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose, in the view of the two armies. He set his own son, of only eight years old, in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor.\* The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

Ariarathes IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife, went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had three sons by Ariarathes VII. of whom this, which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these ! What a series is here of frauds and impostures ! The Roman people saw through them ; and not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people who could prefer slavery to liberty ; but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government ; and there are few people who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

† Ariobarzanes I. This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and reinstated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be reinstated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia, in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off 300,000 men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. ‡ Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the

\* Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

† A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian. in Mith. p. 176, &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

‡ A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridatas.

Ariobarzanes II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him on the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long; he was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was Ariobarzanes III. grandson of Ariobarzanes I.

Ariobarzanes III. \* Cicero, upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people; a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts during the life of his brother, who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. † His endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his constancy, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change sides. The greatest danger came from the high priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus. ‡ They were consecrated to Belona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a great number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and so considerable, that only the king was his superior; he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above 6000 persons consecrated to the service of this temple. From hence the high priest was so powerful; and || in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

\* A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. Epist. 2. et. 4. l. xiv. ad Famil. et. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

† Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat *Ἐν παροδοῖν* consilio et auctoritate, et quod proditoribus ejus *ἀπορίται* με, non modo *ἀδικοδοκῶντων* præbui, regem, regnumque servavi. Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

‡ Strab. l. xii. p. 535 et 557.

|| Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se, quod facturus putabatur, defenderet adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, et tota, iis qui novary aliquid volebant, perfecti ut e regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aula communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. Cic. Epist. 4. lib. xv. ad Famil.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain that he exacted very considerable sums of money from him ;\* for that prince represented to him that it would be impossible for him to pay them if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt ; from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good understanding, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces,† he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

‡ This good treatment gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them ; but he refused to enter into their alliance.

This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him ; so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

Ariarathes X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the 22d book,|| and joined the Romans. He left one son, also named Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. § They first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Anthony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known ; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Anthony expelled him,¶ and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

Archelaus. \*\* That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Anthony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

†† He assisted Tiberius to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his resi-

\* Cæsar de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Hist. de Bell. Alex.

† Diod. l. xliii. p. 183. ‡ A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. Diod. l. 47.

|| Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116.

§ A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675.

¶ A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. xlix. p. 411.

\*\* A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. Plut. in Anton. p. 944.

†† A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton in Tib. c. viii. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671. and l. xii. p. 556.



dence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon, king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

\* His reign was very long and happy ; but his latter years were unfortunate in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him ;† to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandizement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business and the hurry of Rome for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. ‡ During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very remote from thence, residing generally at Eleusis,|| paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary,§ when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the east, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It had been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius Atticus,¶ who, during the divisions with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus. He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome,\*\* as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him ; and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he

\* A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton in Tib. c. 10. Vall. Pat. c. 1. ii. c. 99.

† Ne fulgor suus orientum juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, comeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Petarc. l. ii. c. 99.

‡ Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invi- sus Tiberio, quodeum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ad intimis Augusti monitus ; quia florente Caio Cæsare missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

|| Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes. Strab. l. xiv. p. 651.

§ A. M. 4002. Ant. J. C. 2.

¶ Hoc quale sit facilius existimabit is, qui judicare quantæ sit sapientæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulatio, sed obstrectatio tanto intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsares atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. 20.

\*\* A. M. 4020. A. D. 16.

came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. \* The king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the mad man, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and more than these, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer soon occasioned his death. He had reigned 52 years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca,† a city situate upon the mountain Argea, and governed by the laws of Charondas.‡ This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which, he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths; and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates, having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damage in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent; for which they insisted upon being made amends.

They demanded 300 talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

¶ Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses, and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought, so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of § slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the question by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witnesses might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury, ¶ though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; "Lend me your evidence, and \*\* I will pay you with mine."

\* Ille ignarus doli, vel si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat; exceptusque immiti a principe, et mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quæ singebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio. et quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

† Strab. l. xii. p. 537—539.

‡ This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

§ Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Persii.

¶ Mancipii locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. Horat.

¶ Cic. pro Flac. n. 9, 10. \*\* Da mihi testimonium mutuum.

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced, however, some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators ; and it became a proverb, that a \*rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found, as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to this rule.

\* Θαῖον ἐπὶ λευκῆς κορακὸς πτηνὸς ἡλιανίας.  
Εὐρεῖν, ἢ δοκιμαῖν ρητορὰν Καππαδοκίαν.

## BOOK XXI.

THE

## HISTORY

OF

## SYRACUSE.

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### PLAN.

THIS twenty first book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of Hiero II. The second, the short reign of his grandson Hieronymus, the troubles of Syracuse consequential of it, and the siege and taking of that city by Marcellus. The third is an exact abridgment of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.

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### ARTICLE I.

#### INCLUDING THE REIGN OF HIERO II.

#### SECTION I.

HIERO II. CHOSEN CAPTAIN GENERAL BY THE SYRACUSANS, AND SOON AFTER APPOINTED KING.

**H**IERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse.\* As his mother was of slavish extraction, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous customs of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant dishonoured the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child improved as much from the pains taken to form him, as could be expected. He distinguished himself early from all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his own hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, large statue, and robust complexion. In his conversation † he was humane and polite, in business just, and moderate in command; so that he wanted nothing royal, except a throne.

\* A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

† In alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus; prorsus ut nihil ei regium deesse præter regnum, videretur. Justin.

\* Discord having arisen between the citizens of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus and Hiero to the supreme command, which comprehended all authority civil and military. The latter was at that time 30 years old, but of a prudence and maturity that promised a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverse party, who were intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much wisdom and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers of making such an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of supreme commander.

From his first measures, it was easy to judge that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In effect, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty, he perceived how important it was, in the absence of himself and the army, to have somebody upon whom he might rely for keeping the citizens within the bounds of their duty. Leptinus seemed very fit for this purpose. He had abundance of persons devoted to his interest, and was in very great credit with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter; and by the same alliance secured the public tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established his security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, turbulent malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of command and lucre, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, of attempting any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, from their being too well united among themselves; that, if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would only provoke the rest; and, that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate the factious militia, whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition were only fit to corrupt others, and incline them to pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal, and blind love for the public good, and sensibly affected also with the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country, and security of his person, to proceed to a cruel and sad extremity, equally contrary to his character and justice, but which seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field, under the pretext of marching against the Mamertines.† When he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army into two parts; on the one side he posted such of the soldiers who were Syracusans; on the other, those who were not so.

He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack, and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who cut them in pieces; after which he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

\* A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. Polyb. l. i. p. 8, 9.

† They were originally Campanian troops whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first put the principal inhabitants to the sword.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and sedition, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterwards discharged the duties of his function in peace. The Mamertines, elated with their first success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla.\* A great part of the enemy were left upon the place, and their generals made prisoners. At his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the public authority, to which his example gave a mortal wound. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat amended by the consent which the people and the allies afterwards gave to it; but can we suppose, in such a conjuncture, that their consent was perfectly free? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that; if his secret ambition had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for by his wise and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first punic war, as I have explained more at large elsewhere.†

‡ Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, of which the Carthaginians had possessed themselves, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprise, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news, the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing further to apprehend, Appius tacked about and passed the strait without danger.

|| The Mamertines, between menaces and surprise, having driven the officer out of the citadel who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The fight was rude. Hiero showed all possible courage, but could not resist the valor of the Romans, and was obliged to give way and retire to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

§ When the news of Appius's good success arrived at Rome, it occasioned great joy. In order to make the most of it, it was thought proper to use new efforts. The two consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

\* A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268.

† Vol. I. History of the Carthaginians. ‡ Front. Strat. l. i. c. 4.

|| Polyb. l. i. p. 10, 11.

§ A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Polyb. l. i. p. 15, 16.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was sensible that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the side of the Romans. He knew that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very insecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between those two republics, equal in their forces; and that as long as they should be at blows, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid that the Carthaginians, masters at sea, might cut off all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops who had first passed the strait had suffered extremely by famine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them 100 talents in money.\*

From thenceforth Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, than of sending supplies to the Romans upon occasion. In other respects he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. During more than 50 years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames round him, occasioned by the cruel wars which the two most potent states of the world made against each other, he was so prudent and happy to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms which shook all the neighbouring regions; himself and his people retained a profound peace.

† The Romans perceived, on more than one occasion, during the first punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of their alliance with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions, at times, when the Roman army, without his aid, had been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first punic war and the commencement of the second, which was about 25 years, was a time of peace and tranquillity to Hiero, in which the actions of that prince are little spoken of.

‡ Polybius only informs us, that the Carthaginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged to support against the strangers or mercenaries, which was called the African war, finding themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who granted them all they asked of him. That prince conceived, that to support himself in Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians should overcome in this war; lest the strangers, who had already obtained many advantages over the Carthaginians, in case of entire success, should find no further obstacles to their projects, and should form designs of bringing their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought it

\* 100,000 crowns.

† Polyb. l. i. p. 18.

‡ A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Polyb. l. i. p. 84.

incumbent on him to be upon his guard against the too great power of the Romans, who would become absolute masters, if the Carthaginians should be entirely ruined in the war against the revolters.

Hiero's sole application during this long interval of peace, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the evils which the unjust government of Agathocles, who preceded him some years, and the intestine divisions consequential of them had occasioned; an employment worthy of a king. There was a levity and inconstancy in the character of the Syracusans, which often inclined them to excessive and violent resolutions; but at bottom they were humane and equitable, and no enemies to a just and reasonable obedience. The proof of which is, that when they were governed with wisdom and moderation, as by Timoleon, they respected the authority of the laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him, than he showed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them in preference to all others.

## SECTION II.

**HIERO'S PACIFIC REIGN.—HE DIES VERY OLD, AND MUCH REGRETTED BY THE PEOPLE.**

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great application was to convince his subjects, less by his word than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign, the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds all seeds of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as, during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt disturbed the tranquillity of Syracuse.

What contributed most without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero to keep his subjects employed; to banish luxury and idleness, the parents of all vices, the source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to place agriculture in honour, which he looked upon as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands, indeed besides employing an infinity of hands, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and turns their current into the houses of the people, by a commerce renewing every year the deserved fruit of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of wise and salutary policy, though unhappily too much neglected.



Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study and be skilful in all the rules of agriculture. \* He even gave himself the trouble to compose books upon that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss. But he considered that object of his inquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal riches of the state, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffic, to render the condition of the husbandman, of whom the greatest part of the people were composed, safe and happy ; to ascertain the prince's dues, whose principal revenue arose from them ; to obviate such disorders as might get ground, to the prejudice of his institutions ; and to prevent the unjust vexations which endeavours might possibly be used to obtrude in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became in a manner the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had subjected the city and dominions of Syracuse, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed,† that all things should be disposed according to " the laws of Hiero ;" in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws, and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone was always dear to them, and rendered those laws exceedingly venerable.

I have observed, that in Sicily the prince's principal revenue consisted in corn ; the tenth being paid him. It was therefore his interest, that the country should be well cultivated ; that estimates should be made of the value of the lands ; and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called " decumani," that is to say, " farmers of the tenths." Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which argues him a wise prince and good economist. He knew very well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country people, who consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such ‡ just and exact precautions, that whether the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe penalty. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's quitting his home upon any pretext whatsoever. Cicero says, accordingly, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great

\* Polyb. l. xviii. c. 3.

† Decumias lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset muneris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 15.

‡ Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in scgitibus, neque in areis, neque in horreis, neque in amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arator, sine maxima pœna, fraudare decumanum. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 20.

trouble, by frequent and painful journeys, it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from their plough to the bar, and the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law suits.\* *Miserum atque iniquum ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ad usum rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque judicium.* And besides, can they flatter themselves, let their cause be ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judicio ut arator decumanum persequatur!*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valor; gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions; and upon these accounts might pass for a hero, in the sense of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have charged his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining of those victories have cost him! And of what emolument would they have been to the state! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own, in a manner, by the cultivation of lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a state consists; and which can never fail to happen, when the people of a country reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

† It was in the second punic war, that Hiero gave distinguished proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet, well equipped, to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him, that advanced in age as he was, he would show the same zeal for the Roman people, as he had formerly done in his youth, in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consul's legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and clothes at his own expense. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Romans over the Carthaginian fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

‡ Hiero's inviolable fidelity to the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymene. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, upon their being introduced to the senate, told them, "that Hiero, their master, had been as sensibly afflicted on their last disgrace, as if he had suffered it in his own person; that though he well knew that the grandeur of the Roman people was almost more admirable in times of adversity, than after the most signal successes, he had sent them all the aid that could be expected from a good and faithful ally, and earnestly desired the senate would not refuse to accept it; that they had particularly brought a victory of gold, that weighed 300 pounds, which the king hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of the vows which he made for their prosperity; that they had also 300,000 bushels of wheat, and 200,000 of barley; and that if

\* Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 14.

† A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 50, 51.

‡ A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218. Liv. l. xxi. n. 37, 38.

"the Roman people desired a greater quantity, Hiero would cause as much as they pleased to be transported to whatever places they should appoint ; that he knew the Roman people employed none in their armies but citizens and allies ; but that he had seen light armed strangers in their camp ; that he had therefore sent them 1000 archers and slingers, who might be opposed successfully to the Baleares and Moors of Hannibal's army." They added to this aid a very salutary piece of counsel, which was, that the prætor who should be sent to command in Sicily, might despatch a fleet to Africa, in order to find the Carthaginians such employment in their own country, as might put it out of their power, by that diversion, to send any succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the kings ambassadors in very obliging and honourable terms, "that Hiero acted like a very generous prince, and a most faithful ally; that from the time he had contracted an alliance with the Romans, his attachment for them had been constant and unalterable ; in fine, that in all times and places he had powerfully and magnificently supported them ; that the people had a due sense of such generosity ; that some cities of Italy had already presented the Roman people with gold, who after having expressed their gratitude, had not thought fit to accept it ; that the victory was too-favourable an augury not to be received ; that they would place her in the capitol, that is to say, in the temple of the most high Jupiter, in order that she might establish there her fixed and lasting abode." All the corn and barley on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus\* observes here, upon the noble and prudent liberality of Hiero ; first, in the generous design he forms, of presenting the Romans 320 pounds weight of gold ; then in the industrious precaution he uses, to prevent their refusal to accept it. He does not offer them that gold in specie ; he knew the exceeding delicacy of the Roman people too well for that ; but, under the form of a victory, which they dared not refuse, upon account of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose dominions were situated as Syracuse was in regard to Carthage, from which it had every thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and declare openly for her interests, notwithstanding all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable for being rare and almost unparalleled.

I do not know, however, whether, even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage ; as it was situated over against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing it the empire of the sea, and establishing it entirely, in Sicily by the possession of the whole island. It had therefore been imprudent to suffer such allies to be ruined by the Car-

\* Trecenta millia modium tritici, et ducenta millia hordei, aurique ducenta et quadraginta pondo urbi nostræ muneri misit. Neque ignarus vecundia majorum nostrorum, quod nollet accipere, in habitum id Victoriæ formavit, ut eos religione motos, munificentia sua uti cogeret ; Voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur, liberalis. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 8.

thaginians, who would not have been the better friends to the Syracusans for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive point, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans ; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing, either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts which history has preserved of so long and happy a reign, are few, they do not give us the less idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of a more particular information concerning his actions.

\* The sum of 100 talents, (100,000 crowns,) which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the great earthquake, that laid waste their island, and threw down their colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and magnificence. The modesty with which his presents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the public place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians ; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed the liberality and beneficence of a prince to strangers is rewarded with interest, in the pleasure they give himself, and the glory he acquires by them.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus, Idyll. 16. named after the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than upon the prince, distinguished and esteemed, as we have seen, from his liberality.

† It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that affected the public good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great an use, when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed to devote his cares entirely to the tranquillity and domestic affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war ; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to use the advantage of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world had ever produced ; it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations of truths purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other objects.

Hiero had, however, sufficient power with Archimedes to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the mechanics, which depend on the hand, but are disposed and directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evi-

dent and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes frequently conversed with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the powers of motion, he proceeded to demonstrate, "that with a certain given power, any weight whatsoever might be moved." And, applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at pleasure. The king, surprised and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes preparing to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend, he chose one of the galleys in that port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men, as it could hold. Afterwards, placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pullies, he drew the galley to him upon the land with as much ease, and as upright, as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was utterly astonished; and judging from that experiment the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge, of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince? What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained inactive in his closet, and all his extraordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes set no value upon learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state. But when, in their youth, they have imbibed some small tincture of arts and sciences, for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point, they esteem such as distinguish themselves by learning, sometimes converse with them, and place them in honour, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the advantage. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add upon the admirable machines of war, which were used during the siege of Syracuse, shows how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only subjects are simple and abstracted ideas. It is true that all mere geometrical or algebraical speculations do not relate to useful things; but it is also as true that most of those which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not derive from this real intellectual world; but the mixed mathematics, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the increase of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other the like ob-

jects, become more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The labour of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude, that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, from which shot forth those living lights, and wonderful discoveries, which displayed from their birth a sensible and manifest utility, and gave the Romans astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things, in building palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burthens to be built for the exportation of corn; a commerce, in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted.\* We are told of a galley, built by his order, under the direction of Archimedes, which was reckoned one of the most famous structures of antiquity. It was a whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days among the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had 20 benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, that weighed each 10 pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a descent of stairs, the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers' lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery there were to the number of 30 apartments; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had 15 beds, and three great rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the poop, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were inlaid with small stories in different colours, taken from the *Iliad* of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts were finished with wonderful art and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery there was a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner as the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of cypress wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment was a library, at the top of which, on the outside was fixed a sundial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great coppers, and a bathing vessel, made of a single stone, of various colours. This vessel contained 250 quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held 100,000 quarts.

All round the ship on the outside were atlases of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which supported the sides of the ship; these atlases were at equal distance from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its bigness; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon

\* Athen. l. iii. p. 286—290.

the ships of an enemy that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes; it threw a stone of 300 weight, and an arrow of 12 cubits, 18 feet, the distance of a stadium, or 125 paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were hooks and lumps of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron, to keep off those who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings, corvi, which being thrown by machines, grappled the vessels of the enemy, and drew them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were 60 young men completely armed, and as many about the masts, and at the machines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was extremely deep, one man sufficed for clearing it of all water, with a machine made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him 1000 medimni of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port of Pyraeum. The medimnus, according to Father Montfaucon, is a measure that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was known at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some, where it could not lie at anchor without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king Ptolemy, \* and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other vessels of less burden attended this great ship; 300,000 quarters of corn were put on board them, with 10,000 great earthen jars of salted fish, 20,000 quintals, or 2,000,000 of pounds, of salt meat, 20,000 bundles of different cloths, without including the provisions for the ships' crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description Athenæus has left us of this great ship.

I should have been glad that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and determined a question, which, without it, must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's faith was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies. But the wasting of his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of changing him.† He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies

\* There is reason to believe this was Ptolemy Philadelphus.

† A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215. Liv. l. xxiii. n. 30.

of Syracuse to join him, and would\* perhaps have occasioned great troubles in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not intervened. It happened so opportunely that his father was suspected of having promoted it. He did not survive his son long, and died at the age of 90 years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned 54 years.

## ARTICLE II.

**T**HE reign of Hieronymus ; troubles consequential of it ; and the siege and taking of Syracuse.

### SECTION I.

HIERONYMUS, GRANDSON OF HIERO, SUCCEEDS HIM.—HE IS KILLED IN A CONSPIRACY.

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronymus his grandson, a young prince,† incapable of making a wise use of his independency, and far from resisting the seducing impressions of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition in which he left his kingdom, would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with their whole credit ; from the hope that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands Andranadorus and Zoippus, who held the first rank among his guardians.‡ It was not easy for an old man of 90, to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who besieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind against their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the public.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council ; and earnestly desired them, at his death, never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for 50 years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king dying after these dispositions, the guardians he had appointed his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation equal to that of a family who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their loss, and their apprehension of what

\* *Movissetque in Siciliares, nisi mora, adeo opportuna ut patrem quo que suspicione adaspergeret armantem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumpsisset* Liv.

† *Puerum, vix dum liberatam, nedum dominationem, modice laturum.* Liv.

‡ *Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum, circumsesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, et convertere ad publicam privatam curam.* Liv.



was to come.\* His funeral was afterward solemnized ; and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the care and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranadorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old ; so that Andranadorus, being the first to renounce the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The dispositions made by the wisest princes at their death, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

† The best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained ; but Hieronymus, as if he had strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible how much all things were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon his son, during so many years, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornaments intimating pride. Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. ‡ All the rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage ; a visible contempt for all the world, haughty and disdainful in hearing, and affectation of saying disobliging things ; so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his guardians, could scarce approach him ; a refinement of taste in discovering new methods of debauch ; a cruelty so excessive as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him. This odious disposition of the young king terrified the people to such a degree, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranadorus and Zoippus, both Hiero's sons in law, and Thraso, had a great freedom of access to the young king. He listened a little more to them than to the others ; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes, frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them that prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the question, he confessed the crime as to himself ; but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, among whom he named Thraso, as the ringleader of the whole enterprise ; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The zeal he had always expressed for the

\* *Funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate, quam cura suorum celebre Liv.*

† *Vix quidem illi bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia essent ostendit. Liv.*

‡ *Hunc tam superbum apperatum habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbæ aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam ; libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas. Liv.*

Roman interest, rendered the evidence probable ; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companion's being tortured, either fled or concealed himself ; so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who had the fortitude to keep the secret inviolably.

The death of Thraso who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partisans of Carthage. Hieronymus despatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general ; the two others continued with the king, by Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, that after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which almost divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, blown up by the praises of his flatterers, demanded even, some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash ; but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans.

That proud prince received them with great contempt ; asking them, with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ ; that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things of it ; that it was easy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans made answer, that they would return to him when he had learned to treat ambassadors seriously and with reason ; and, after having cautioned rather than desired him not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and the other vices to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme ; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprise, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

Here is a sensible instance of the difference between a king and a tyrant ; and that it is not in guards or arms the security of a prince consists, but the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful, for no other end than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life ; he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people ; and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths, but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and valued himself upon governing them, not as subjects but slaves, led the wretchedest life in the world, if to live were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted nobody, nobody placed any confidence in

him. Those who were nearest his person, were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

\* Appius, who foresaw the consequence of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent Marcellus thither, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second punic war, and had distinguished himself gloriously by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of the liberty with which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, altogether appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranadorus seized the isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel, and such other places as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodotus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by showing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem, to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day at sunrise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the quarter Achradina, where the senate was assembled, which had neither sat, nor been consulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polyenus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "that having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were most sensibly affected with them; but that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they would rather have heard him spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves; that he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more if they did not proceed to use them to the last extremity; that at present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranadorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the isle, and withdraw his garrisons; that if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigor than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impression upon him; whether he still retained a respect for the senate, and was moved with the unanimous concurrence of the citizens; or because the best fortified part of the isle having been taken from him by treachery, and surrendered to the Syracusans; that loss gave him just apprehensions. † But his wife Demarata,

\* A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 21—35.

† Sed evocatum cum ab legatis Demarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata ad hoc regis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet sæpe usurpatæ Dionysii tyranni vocis; quæ, pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo, relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere:

Hiero's daughter, an haughty and ambitious princess, having taken him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, "that it was never proper to quit the saddle, i. e. the tyranny, till pulled off the horse by the heels; that a great fortune might be renounced in a moment, but that it would cost abundance of time and pains to attain it; that it was therefore necessary to endeavour to gain time; and whilst he amused the senate by ambiguous answers, to treat privately with the soldiers at Leontium, whom it was easy to bring over to his interest, by the attraction of the king's treasures in his possession."

Andranodorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to give in to it without reserve. He chose a mean between both. He promised to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity; and the next day, having thrown open the gates of the isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina; and there, after having excused his delay and resistance, from the fear he had been in of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, as his uncle, he declared, that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then, turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis; "you have done," said he, "a memorable action. But, believe me, your glory is only begun, and has not yet attained the height of which it is capable. If you do not take care to establish peace and union among the citizens, the state is in great danger of expiring, and of being destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste the blessings of liberty."

After this discourse, he laid the keys of the isle and of the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged during the rest of the day with infinite numbers of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day, the senate being assembled according to the ancient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst the principal of whom Andranodorus was elected, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of 2000 men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities, which continued to adhere to the Romans, seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily after the death of him to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most affairs a decisive moment, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a disgust for the senate, and the better inclined part of the citizens.

Andranodorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who, till then, had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son in law, to seize the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian named Ariston, from whom he kept nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable among the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston, believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the

conspiracy. Andranadorus and Themistus were immediately slain, by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their deaths, but were deterred from it, by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs ; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They insinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name ; that they ought to have been cut off before Hieronymus, or at least with him ; that impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aspire to the tyranny ; that not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had used dissimulation and perfidy ; that neither favours nor honours had been able to overcome the wicked disposition of Andranadorus ; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty ; that as to the rest, they had been inspired with their ambition of reigning by the princesses of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's daughter.

At those words, the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants without any reserve or exception. \* Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or lords it with insolence ; but with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it ; and has always too many flatterers ready to enter into its passions, inflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties, to which it is but too much inclined of itself, as was the case at this time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they decreed that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata, Hiero's, and Harmonia, Gelon's daughter ; the first married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclea, wife of Zoippus ; who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprized that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters in the most remote part of her house, near her household gods. When the assassins arrived there, with her hair loose and disordered, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice, interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, " not to involve an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus." She represented to them, " that her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign ; that not having had any share in the fortunes and designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. Besides, what was there to fear either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support ? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, they might be banished to

\* *Hæc natura multitudinis est ; aut servit humiliter, aut superbe dominatur ; libertatem, quæ media est, nec spernere molice, nec habere sciunt. Et non ferne desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebiorum animos ad sanguinem et cædes irritant. Liv.*

“ Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father.” When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting herself, she implored them at least to save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age to inspire the most inveterate and furious enemies with compassion ; but her discourse made no impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her to death in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after cut their throats, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their death an order of the people’s came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Adranadorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the crowd of the people, happened to name Epicydes ; another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had of reinstating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal ; but they had seen with pain the measures which had been taken before they were in office ; for, immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose renewing the alliance broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superiour to his own. Marcellus, in his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there, they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired every body with great aversion for the Romans ; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion, it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it ; and the heat of debates giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the conjuncture. He intimated, “ that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation than  
“ Syracuse actually was at that time ; that if they all with unanimous consent should join either the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would  
“ be happy ; that if they were divided, the war would neither be more warm  
“ nor more dangerous between the Romans and Carthaginians, than between  
“ the Syracusans themselves against each other ; as both parties must necessarily have, within the circumference of their own walls, their own  
“ troops, armies and generals ; that it was therefore absolutely requisite  
“ to make their agreement and union amongst themselves their sole care  
“ and application ; and that, to know which of the two alliances was to  
“ be preferred, was now the most important question ; that, for the rest,  
“ the authority of Hiero, in his opinion, ought to carry it against that of  
“ Hieronymus ; and that the amity of the Romans, happily experienced  
“ for fifty years together, seemed preferable to that of the Carthaginians,  
“ upon which they should not much rely for the present, and with which

“ they had as little reason to be satisfied with regard to the past. He added  
 “ a last motive of no mean force, which was, that in declaring against the  
 “ Romans, they would have war immediately upon their hands ; whereas,  
 “ on the side of Carthage, the danger was more remote.”

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had. It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state ; and the principal officers of the troops, as well natives as foreigners were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great warmth. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably for discharging the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and removing their no less dangerous leaders ; 4000 men were ordered to march under the command of Hippocrates, of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for the occasion they gave him to embroil affairs ; for he no sooner arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded that this stranger should be banished from Sicily with his brother Epicydes ; who, having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependent on Syracuse, but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers, the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at the disposal of their city, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of 2000 were put to the sword ; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared, and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their march, who gave them a false account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium ; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood which they swallowed without suspicion, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders Diomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult,

they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydes, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound.

The soldiers opposed this with great menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

The army, however, continued its march towards Megara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse, to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enraged the mercenaries, of whom this body of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entering Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium conformable to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were set at liberty, the prisoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short irradiation of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

## SECTION II.

MARCELLUS BESIEGES SYRACUSE.—THE DREADFUL MACHINES OF ARCHIMEDES.—HE IS KILLED.

\* AFFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advanced towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land; † by land, on the side of Hexapyla; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of 60 galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers, armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of machines used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, apprehending that nothing could oppose so

\* A. M. 3790. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 33, 374. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305—367. Polyb. l. viii. p. 515—518.

† The description of Syracuse may be seen in Book VIII. Ch. ii. Sec. 1.



terrible a power, and such mighty efforts; and it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans; this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible baliste and catapulte. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance; which put the Romans into such confusion as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with an immense weight at the end of them, upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Beside this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; the person who guided the machine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time; then, by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cords and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Gallies frequently, seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators; after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all who were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expense, machines called sambuce, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight gallies of five benches for that use, from which the oars were removed; from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect, was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two gallies joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pulleys; others at the head assisted in raising it with levers. The gallies afterwards being thrust forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the sambuce was then let down, no doubt after the manner of a draw bridge, upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it, that weighed 10 quintals,\* then a second, and immediately after a third;

\* The quintal, which the Greeks called *ταλαντον*, was of several kinds. The least weighed 125 pounds; the largest more than 1200.

all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the gallies upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his gallies, and sent orders to his land forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day, before sunrise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingences. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very short, required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed scorpions,\* which, not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their gallies were disabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies; for Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls, and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleasantries upon them. "Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, "in making war with this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my gallies and sambuces so rudely? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprising discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only; for the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed; for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them; he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valor left untried,

\* The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

almost to the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city; his sole presence arrests and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge. I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expense and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince, to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour; he made it useful; and did not stay till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so; which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very arms of peace, he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to rise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated on facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances of which whole armies were witnesses, in experiencing the effects, and which had so great an influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse, shows how high the ancients had carried their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

† After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of re-conquering it, and expelling the Romans.

\* *In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello.*

HORAT.

And wise in peace, prepared the arms of war.

† A. M. 5791. Ant. J. C. 213. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 35, 36.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with 10,000 foot and 500 horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians, seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back to Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse, with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates, in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed, Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what passed in the second; for it is highly improbable that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, and with which I am convinced the public were well pleased. The first volume of this work contains a long preface, which is well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions into Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above 8000 men. This advantage kept those in their duty who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory, he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

\* In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But, before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could make himself master of Syracuse, by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which 80 of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was on the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprise having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts, but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's

\* A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Liv. l. xxv. n. 23—31. Plut. in Marcel. p. 308, 309.

thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army ; a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival that the Syracusans celebrated for three days, in honour of Diana ; during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made 1000 chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first got to the top, without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These 1000 soldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapylum, they took the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day break entered Villanova,\* or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus ; but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon his extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent, of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them ; the many wars sustained with so much valor against the Carthaginians ; the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged, to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Eurylaus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The

\* The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis ; and in the latter times had been taken into the city, and surrounded with walls.

first, with the Sicilians, having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded ; Epicydes at the same time made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprises was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his intrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina. As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season ; but afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion ; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of those who were living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and lamentations. At length, the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished, with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade was of great relief to them ; he lost however, no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomilcar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back a new supply, returned with 130 ships, and 700 transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid, that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians increase every day, and that if he stayed and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood to sea in order to double the cape, but when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason it is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with a design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the dispositions of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings should appertain to the Romans ; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest, with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those Epicydes had charged with the government in his absence. They

told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and giving them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin, by removing the three governors Epiccydes had left in his place ; which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, " that for  
 " whatever miseries they had suffered till then, or should suffer from hence-  
 " forth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended upon themselves  
 " alone to put an end to them ; that if the Romans had undertaken the  
 " siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection, not enmity, to the Syracusans ;  
 " that it was not till after they had been apprized of the oppressions they  
 " suffered from Hippocrates and Epiccydes, those ambitious agents of Han-  
 " nibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms and be-  
 " gan the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants ; that  
 " as Hippocrates was dead, Epiccydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenant  
 " slain, and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land,  
 " what reason could the Romans now have for not inclining as much to  
 " preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of faith to them, were  
 " still alive ; that neither the city nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear  
 " but from themselves, if they let slip the occasion of renewing their amity  
 " with the Romans ; that they never had so favourable an opportunity as the  
 " present, when they were just delivered from the violent government of  
 " their tyrants ; and that the first use they ought to make of their liberty  
 " was to return to their duty."

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies ; the latter of which were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect : " It was not the people of Syracuse who first  
 " broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less  
 " criminal still to Rome than to his country ; and afterwards, when the  
 " peace was restored by his death, it was not any Syracusan that infringed  
 " it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates and Epiccydes. They were  
 " the enemies who have made war against you, after having made us  
 " slaves, either by violence, or fraud and perfidy ; and it cannot be said  
 " that we have had any times of liberty that have not also been times of  
 " peace with you. At present, as soon as we become masters of ourselves,  
 " by the death of those who held Sicily in subjection, we come the very  
 " instant to deliver up to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our  
 " city, determined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to im-  
 " pose. For the rest," continued he, addressing himself always to Mar-  
 " cellus, " your interest is as much concerned as ours. The gods have grant-  
 " ed you the glory of having taken the finest and most illustrious city pos-  
 " sessed by the Greeks. All we have ever achieved of memorable, either  
 " by sea or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is not a suf-  
 " ficiently faithful chronicle to make known the greatness and strength of  
 " the city you have taken ; posterity can only judge of them by its own  
 " eyes. It is necessary that we should show to all travellers, from what-  
 " ever part of the universe they come, sometimes the trophies we have  
 " obtained from the Athenians and Carthaginians, and sometimes those you

" have acquired from us ; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under  
 " the protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting, an eternal monument of  
 " the valor and clemency of him who took and preserved it. It is unjust  
 " that the remembrance of Hieronymus should have more weight with you  
 " than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the  
 " former your enemy. Permit me to say you have experienced the amity  
 " of Hiero ; but the senseless enterprises of Hieronymus have fallen sole-  
 " ly upon his own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected ; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put all to the sword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard, named Mericus ; him means were found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded, by some vessels he had prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing further from him, than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence : " That Hiero, for 50 years  
 " had not done the Roman people more good, than those who had been  
 " masters of Syracuse some years past, had intended to do them harm ;  
 " but that their ill will had fallen upon their own heads, and they had  
 " punished themselves for their violation of treaties in a more severe man-  
 " ner, than the Romans could have desired ; that he had besieged Syracuse  
 " during three years, not that the Roman people might reduce it to slave-  
 " ry, but to prevent the chiefs of the revoltors from continuing it under  
 " oppression ; that he had undergone many fatigues and dangers in so long  
 " a siege ; but that he thought he had made himself ample amends by the  
 " glory of having taken that city, and the satisfaction of having saved it



"from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve." After having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safeguards in the houses of the Syracusans, who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at the time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet, like a man of another world, who had no regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes, but the whole faculties of his soul were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who regarded neither his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

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### ARTICLE III.

#### ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

##### SECTION I.

###### TOMB OF ARCHIMEDES DISCOVERED BY CICERO.

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder, circumscribed by a sphere; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the relation those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relievos, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans; but he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so much celebrated machines of his invention.

Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. Less than 140 years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

\* At the time he was quæstor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make search after the tomb of Archimedes; a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him, that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts, he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquities, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, "That he found what he looked for."† The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time; ‡ so that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizen, so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account; but we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where, intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant, with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says; || "I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Architas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable, and the most detestable that can be imagined. I shall have recourse to a man of his own city, a little obscure person, who lived many years after him. I shall produce him from his dust,§ and bring him upon the stage with his rule and compasses in his hand." Not to mention the birth of Archimedes, whose greatness was of a different class, the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of the learned, should Cicero have treated this man as little and obscure as a common artificer employed in making machines? unless it be, perhaps, because the Romans, with whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what related to government and policy.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus  
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent;  
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento. VIRG. ÆN. 6.

Let others better mould the running mass  
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,  
And soften into flesh a marble face;

}

\* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. v. n. 64, 66.

† *Eugenius* in verb. Archim.

‡ Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unis accuratissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.

|| Non ergo jam cum hujus vita, qua tetrius, miserius, detestabilius excogitare nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum et plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe *humilem hominiconem* a pulvere et radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedelem.

§ He means the dust used by geometricians.

Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,  
 And when the stars descend and when they rise ;  
 But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway  
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey ;  
 Disposing peace and war, thy own majestic way. DRYDEN. }

\* This is the Abbé Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

## SECTION II.

### SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF SYRACUSE.

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what was called *Grecia Major*, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. † It was founded by Achitas the Corinthian, in the third year of the seventeenth Olympiad.

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel, many great events, for the space of more than 200 years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government ; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed in different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be more evident, from their being shown together and in general, and the places pointed out where they are treated with due extent.

‡ GELON. The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece, Gelon who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Hamilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction ; for on one side I suppose, with Diodorus Siculus, || that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle ; and on the other I say, after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile in which he had sacrificed human victims.

§ Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years, solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Book II. part ii.—Book VII. ch. ii. sec. 1.

¶ HIERO I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him.

\* Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, vol ii.

† A. M. 3295.

‡ A. M. 3520.

|| In the history of the Carthaginians.

§ A. M. 3525.

¶ A. M. 3533.

The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Book VII. ch. ii. sect. 1. 2d. division.

\* **THRASIBULUS.** Thrasibulus his brother succeeded. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Book VII. ch. ii. sect. 1. 3d division.

## TIMES OF LIBERTY.

† After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

## SYRACUSE ATTACKED BY THE ATHENIANS.

† During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen Book VIII. ch. iii. end of sect. 6.

‖ **DIONYSIUS the elder.** The reign of this prince is famous for its length of 38 years, and still more for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. B. II. part i. ch. 1. B. I. part ii. ch. 1.

§ **Dionysius the younger.** Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who comes to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

¶ Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

\*\* **Dion's excellent qualities.** He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

†† Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

‡† **Dionysius the younger,** taking advantage of those troubles, reascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

‡‡ At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth. Book II. part iii. ch. 1. B. XI. sect. 5.

## TIMES OF LIBERTY.

§§ **TIMOLEON** restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. B. XI. ch. ii. sect. 6.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

¶¶ **AGATHOCLES.** Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. B. II. part ii. ch. 1. near the end.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war

\* A. M. 3543.

† A. M. 3544.

‡ A. M. 3588.

‖ A. M. 3598.

§ A. M. 3632.

¶ A. M. 3644.

\*\* A. M. 3646.

†† A. M. 3647.

‡† A. M. 3654.

‡‡ A. M. 3657.

§§ A. M. 3658.

¶¶ A. M. 3685.

into Africa ; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events, he perishes miserably. He reigned about 28 years.

#### TIMES OF LIBERTY.

\* SYRACUSE took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus, by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. B. I. part ii. ch. 2. near the end. B. XVI. sect. 7.

HIERO II. They were not happy in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II. which was very long, and almost always pacific.

HIERONYMUS. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily, to its total reduction, is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them ; but those wars had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first punic war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts ; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero ; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

### SECTION III.

#### REFLECTIONS UPON THE GOVERNMENT AND CHARACTER OF THE SYRACUSANS, AND UPON ARCHIMEDES.

BY the taking of Syracuse all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire ; but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victory, and punishment of the vanquished. *Quasi victoria præmium, ac pæna belli.* Sicily, in submitting to the Roman people,† retained all her ancient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. † She was the first of all the foreign nations that entered into alliance and amity with the Romans ; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy ; and the first country that had given them the

\* A. M. 3713.

† Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent ; eadem conditione populo R. parerent, qua suis antea paruissent. Cic.

‡ Omnium nationum exteriarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit ; prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata ; prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare. Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthagini tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, et rei frumentariæ subsidium, et receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit ; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitribatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret. Cic. Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.

grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence, after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues, in order that a people who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, knowing like him, the obligations of his functions, and like him, intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon this subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he is going to expose, he says; \* "In all the employments with which the Roman people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged, by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dignity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my particular use, but as a deposit confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that office, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and administration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the view of all the world; and in this thought I not only denied myself all pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even those that are authorized by nature and necessity. I am now intended for Edile. I call the gods to witness, that how honourable soever this dignity seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight, not to have more solicitude and disquiet than joy and pleasure from it; so much I desire to make it appear, that it was not bestowed on me by chance, or the necessity of being filled up; but confided deservedly by the choice and discernment of my country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as Cicero† some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants,

\* *Odii immortales.*—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestra populique R. existimatio comprobeat, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac commissum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in meunum conjectos arbitrarer; ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus Ædilis.—Ita mihi deos omnes propitios esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis et laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit recte collocata, et judicio populi digno in loco posita esse videatur. Cic. Verr. 7. n. 35—37.

† Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces et secures, et tantam imperiî vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi et auctoritate omni repagula juris, pudoris, et officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem et audaciam posset esse. Cic. Verr. n. 39.

who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprising scenes have been exhibited ; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftener violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions ; sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others, under the government of the wisest kings ; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace, without either government or restriction ; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law and the empire of reason ; it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty ; from a kind of convulsions and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation ; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, and the two Hieros, ancient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary to be attributed ? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them ; but what I am convinced conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratic and democratic, that is to say, divided between the senate, or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way to sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens. To attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour ; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous for their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage ; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In

order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

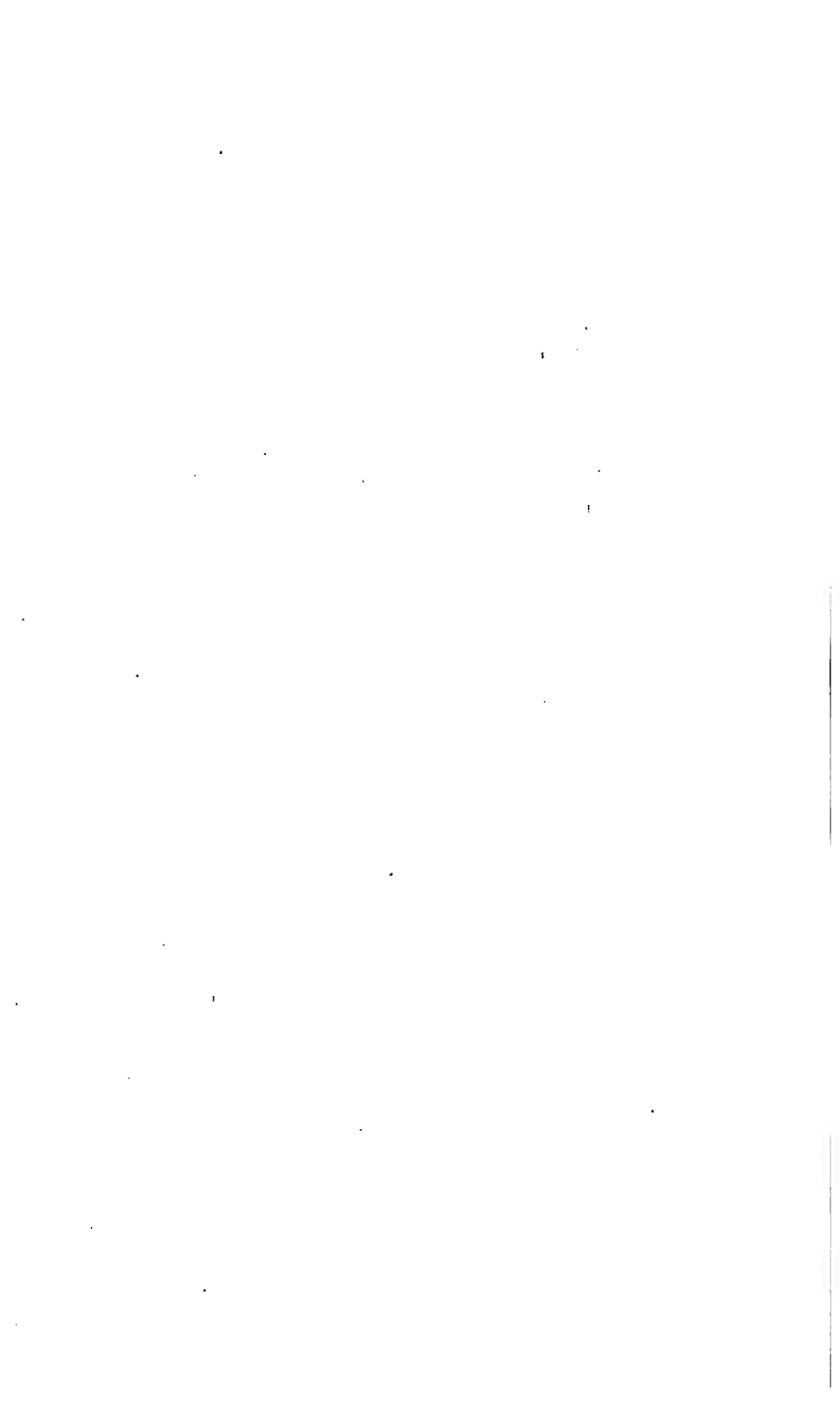
They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature ; and yet, when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say, even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and creeping like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled asleep, they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, as Galba afterwards said of the Romans,\* that they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude ; so that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility and facilitating the execution of good measures ; and, in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affections, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

\* Imperatorus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.





## BOOK XXII.

### THE

# HISTORY OF PONTUS.

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#### PLAN.

THIS book includes the space of 60 years, which is three years more than the reign of Mithridates ; from the year of the world 3880 to the year 3943.

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#### SECTION I.

MITHRIDATES ASCENDS THE THRONE OF PONTUS.—LIBRARY OF ATHENS CARRIED TO ROME.

**M**ITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported during almost 30 years against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He descended from a house which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabasus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hystaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But, besides that we do not find the name of Artabasus amongst these Persians, many reasons induce us to believe that the prince of whom we speak was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during 17 generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we shall treat in this place, was the 16th from him.

\* He was but 12 years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. † He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death ; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it. ‡ Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them.

|| Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time

\* A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

† Memnon in Excerptis, Photii. c. 32.

‡ Apian in Mithrid. p. 177, 178. || A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man, who seemed very fit for such a part, as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such; and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned, and a decree passed by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to choose whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprises of Mithridates; whose power, daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. \* Sylla executed his commission the following year; and, after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobazus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces† to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla received him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent; one for Ariobarzanes, who was present; another for Orobazus; and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation of his strength, and began with Tigranes, king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. † Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians; it came under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadree, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus, they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts. Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his projects against the Romans, that they agreed, Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

|| Their first enterprise and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time; his

\* A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

† Strab. l. 11. p. 531, 532.

† This was Mithridates II.

|| A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius, and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support ; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effects, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot ; but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied with complaints on their side of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms, that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should judge in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders, nor engage rashly in a war that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer, that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable ; and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived ; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned among his troops, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of 250,000 foot, and 40,000 horse ; without including 130 armed chariots, and a fleet of 400 ships.

\* Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to preface his troops for it, and made them a long discourse † to animate them against the Romans. He represented to them, "that there was no room for examining whether war or peace were to be preferred; that the Romans, by attacking them first, had spared them that inquiry; that their business was to fight and conquer; that he assured himself of success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valor they had already shown upon so many occasions, and lately against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight and cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia; that there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the Marsi infested and ravaged the heart of Italy itself, when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the Cimbri from Germany overran all Italy; that the time was come for humbling those proud republicans, who had the same view with regard to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the thrones of the universe; that for the rest, ‡ the war his soldiers were now entering upon, was highly different from that they had sustained with so much valor in the horrid deserts, and frozen regions of Scythia; that he should lead them into the most fruitful and temperate country in the world, abounding with rich and opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an easy prey; that Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelties of tax farmers, and the crying injustice of corrupt judges, had the name of Roman in horror, and impatiently expected them as her deliverers; that they followed him not so much to a war, as to assured victory and certain spoils." The army answered this discourse with universal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was commanded by Cassius, who had the government of the province of Pergamus; the second by Manius Aquilius; the third by Q. Oppius, proconsul in the province of Pamphylia. Each of them had 40,000 men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had 50,000 foot, and 6000 horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence, and so little conduct, that they were all three defeated on different occasions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kind of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people, mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Man-

\* Justin. l. 38. c. 3—7.

† I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

‡ Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam neque coelo Asia esse temperatius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amœnius; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut festam diem, acturos, bello dubium facili magis an uberi; tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet; adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium. Justin. Sectio publicanorum "in this passage properly signifies the forcible sale of the goods of those, who for default of payment of taxes and imposts, had their estates and effects seized on and sold by the publicans." Calumniæ litium "are the unjust quirks and chicanery, which served as pretext for depriving the rich of their estates, either upon account of taxes, or under some other colour."

ius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

\* Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his times,† who could drink most without being disordered; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea, a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

‡ Mithridates, considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia Minor, upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the prejudice of his interests, he sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia Minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed;§ The women, children, and domestics, were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those who were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves who killed their masters; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces, when it was put in execution! 80,000 Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

§ Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia, against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found 800 talents, (800,000 crowns,) which the Jews in Asia Minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.

¶ All those who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge at Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded

\* Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 461. Athen. l. v. p. 213. Cic. Orat. pro Flacco. n. 60.

† Plut. in Sympos. l. i. p. 624.

‡ A. M. 5916. Ant. J. C. 88. Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manil. n. 7.

§ Is uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno muntio, atque una literarum significatione, cives Romanos necandos, trucidandosque denotavit. Cic.

¶ Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

¶ Appian p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

\* When he had made himself master of Asia Minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of 120,000 men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave 2000 men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the 2000 men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

† Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Aristion's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies; the one of which he sent to besiege Aristion in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port of Pyreus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But, being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expense, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, 20,000 mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the academy of Lyceum, which were the finest and best planted in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought

\* Plut. in Sylla. p. 458—461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 123—127.

† A. M. 3917. Ant. J. C. 87.

from thence. He wrote to the amphictyons assembled at Delphos, "that they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept, in the presence of the amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for talking that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, wrote him an account of what had happened. Sylla deriding his simplicity, replied, "that he was surprised he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore he had nothing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be assured, that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were wise, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says Plutarch,\* in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expense in the discharge of their offices than what was reasonable and necessary; conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then, more than ever, for carrying on the siege he had engaged in; the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigor; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves who were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the

\* *Αυτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλεὺς καὶ δαπάναις οὐταῖς οἶον.*



Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety, in case the place was taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans; so that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Pireus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, nothing succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally; the traitors slung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it; "Tomorrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp." Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city, which was in want of all things. Upon advice of the same kind, the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the walls, or by undermining them to throw them down, and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigor. By the help of mines also, they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground; and having propt the foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burned, part of the wall fell down with an horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both sides; but the Romans at length were obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place where the other had fallen; and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Pireus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for 1000 drachms, about 25 pounds sterling. The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla; he dispersed them with arrow shot; and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpos, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla wastired with their discourse, and interrupted them by saying, "Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes to yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your ancient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During this audience, some spies having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter called Ceramicus,\* and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place; and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised

\* The public place at Athens.

against it, began the attack there, and, having made himself master of the wall, after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death. Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Pireus, and burned all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus, one of his generals, arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, with 90 chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very wise conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Beotia, where Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemy could discover at a view their small number, which amounted to only 15,000 foot, and 1500 horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and their innumerable troops; for when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brass and steel, reflected a kind of rays, which, whilst they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their intrenchments, Sylla, not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present universal discouragement, was obliged to lie still and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their intrenchments; the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, even several days journey from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was, to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephissus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fosses, under pretence of their better security; but in effect, that when they should be tired of such great

fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. This stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice, to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly entreated, and did not comply for some time ; but when he saw their ardour increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronea. The enemy had possessed themselves, with a great body of troops, of a very advantageous post, called Thurium ; it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronea, came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops ; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena ; whilst Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The barbarians had already begun to extend their horse and light armed foot, in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant, the two men of Cheronea, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The barbarians, surprised and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down it before the enemy, who charged and pursued them down the hill with their swords at their backs, so that about 3000 men were killed upon the mountain. Of those who escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted and made a great slaughter of them ; the rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigor, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion ; instead of which, a short space, that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot races of the circus.

After these chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined ; so that they could not be broken ; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and, with sword in hand, removed the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity was the sight of 15,000 slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted them among the heavy armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way.

Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and an hail of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank ; which Archelaus seeing, he ordered 2000 horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with great part of his right wing, that had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus, at the same time, led on his foot, armed with brazen shields, against Murena ;\* whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should hasten. At length, he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts ; and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing, taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and that he had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the barbarians were killed in the plain, and a greater number cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp ; so that, of many thousand men, only 10,000 escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only 14 of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

† To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the music games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities to distribute the prizes ; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed, that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods, should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus, of the adverse party, for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest, had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him ; but being arrived at the city of Melitea,‡ news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first ; for Dorylaeus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were 80,000 men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Beotia, and possessed himself of the whole country, in order to bring

\* Chalcaspides.

† A. M. 3919. Ant. J. C. 85.

‡ In Thessaly.

Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had so lately lost ; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew that the advice he had given him was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosses to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them towards the marshes. The barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, " For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it " was at Orchomenus." They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sunrise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pellmell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment were dyed with blood, and the dyke filled with dead bodies. The enemy, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops, Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies ; but from the fear that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

\* He was not more successful in Asia himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruised in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other ; so that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the public good, lest they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprising, as it was

\* Plut. in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493. Appian. p. 204—210.

not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quaestor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect, in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journeys, by land or sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history; so that he arrived in Asia a complete general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war.\* Let young warriors consider this with due attention, and observe in what manner the great form themselves.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chosen to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account, that his enemies had burned his house, and ruined his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla to have it in his power to repossess into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, for a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery in which he lived, under an impious and cruel prince. He added that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought

\* Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilis, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quaestura diuturnum tempus, Minæ bellum in Ponto gerente in Asia pace consumperat. Sed incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usus disciplinam. Itaque, cum totum iter et navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. Cic. Academ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 2.

himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him, "If being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a barbarian king, you look upon it as a baseness to quit the service of your master, how dared you to propose the abandoning the interests of the republic to such a Roman as me? Do you imagine our condition and affairs to be equal? Have you forgot my victories? Do you not remember, that you are the same Archelaus I have defeated in two battles, and forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of Orchomenus?"

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely; and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions; "That Mithridates should renounce Asia and Paphlagonia; that he should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes; that he should pay the Romans 2000 talents, (about 300,000 pounds sterling,) for the expenses of the war, and 70 armed galleys, with their whole equipage; and that Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause him to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people." Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions, and despatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him, that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the 70 galleys, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone, "What say you? Would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia; and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, for having only left him the hand with which he butchered 100,000 Romans. He will change his note when I go over to Asia; though at present, in the midst of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw." Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand at the same time, that he would not talk such language, had he been present at the past battles.

The ambassadors terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him, that Mithridates should consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose; and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

\* Archelaus upon his return, joined him at the city of Philippi, and informed him that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of Fimbria, who, having killed Flaccus, of whom mention is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him 200 galleys, 20,000 foot, 6000 horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes; and Sylla had only four cohorts, and 200 horse in company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, "Do you not know Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to

“speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent?” Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him; and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates surprised at the haughtiness and steady air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces; and afterwards presenting the kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the 70 galleys entirely equipped, and 600 archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who, of all kings was the most mortal enemy to Rome, and who in one day had caused 100,000 Roman citizens, dispersed in Asia, to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops superiour in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than 160,000 of the enemy, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself; and, having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions.\* But what is most admired in Sylla is, that, during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy, in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed to him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira, in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came unarmed, ran out to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy, from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay 20,000 talents,† and besides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and

\* Vix quid quam in Syllæ, operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnanz Marianz partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existimavitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu, ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 2.

† About 3,000,000 sterling.



who lived at discretion as in conquered cities ; for he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four drachms\* a day, and entertain at table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite ; that each captain should have fifty drachms,† and besides that, a robe for the house and another when he went abroad.

‡ After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at Pireus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia ; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was in their dependence, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, thought proper to hide them in a vault under ground, where they remained almost 130 years ; till the heirs of Neleus's family which after several generations, were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms ; because the originals were either rotten in many places, or worm eaten and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public ; the world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

## SECTION II.

SECOND AND THIRD WAR WITH MITHRIDATES.----TRAGICAL END OF HIS SISTERS AND WIVES.

|| SYLLA, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him for whom Cicero made the fine oration which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Colchis and Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. They first demanded his son Mithridates for their king ; and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, im-

\* About 2 shillings. † About 1 pound 5 shillings.

‡ Plut. in Syll. p. 468. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Athen. l. iii. p. 214. Laert. in Theoph.

|| A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Appian. p. 313—316.

aging their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it; and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which the excessive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himself to it is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe his designs were against the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands; and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was in reality nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence, he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

\* There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publicly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But, as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as a mere collusion; and indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field; and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

† Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes; he obeyed, Mithridates, having put one of his sons of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities, in which he had garrisons, promising, no doubt, to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he proposed prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and rallying; fit objects of emulation! Gabinius was the only one, who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent.

‡ Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the same year; but he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son in law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants

\* A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82.

† A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.

‡ A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78.

into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away 300,000 souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner, for the better peopling of his own dominions.

\* The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon, by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called the senate. They were unanimously of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy, and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprise, which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested that he would never consent to any treaty, injurious to the glory or interest of his country; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend to no just right to dispose; but that he would never consent he should have any footing in Asia Minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them to this effect; that Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius 3000 talents† down, and give him 40 galleys.

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours; for, when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior ally, in

\* A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 580, 581.

† About 450,000 pounds sterling.

this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic, obscured the splendour and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declared, that it was from Sertorius they received, and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

\* Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigor. He believed, that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

† Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurements of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers; he collected horses, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned; assembled 120,000 foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and 16,000 horse, well equipped for service, besides 100 chariots, armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer, as before, with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms, offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost 12 years.

‡ The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, for his province; the other Bithynia and the Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries, through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it; but he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost 60 of his ships, with their whole complements; and in that by land he had 4000 of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief but what his colleague should

\* A. M. 3929. Ant. J. C. 75. Appian de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.

† Plut. in Lucul. p. 469. ‡ A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cottas's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to revolt. He answered generously, that he should always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him, with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

\* Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantageous, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with 300,000 men, divided in ten camps; and by sea with 400 ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only 30,000 foot, and 2500 horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory, that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of his soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigor. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valor, and employed all means, that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valor, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage; and some went so far as to support themselves upon human flesh. † Mithridates, ‡ who passed for the most artful

\* A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Plut. in Lucul. p. 497—499. Appian. p. 219—222.

† A. M. 3933. Ant. J. C. 72.

‡ Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset qua effracta et revulsa, tota pateret provincia; perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copię regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. Cic. in Orat. pro Mur. n. 33.

captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not have had so much experience, should so often put the change upon him by false marches and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land, to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them; and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed 20,000 of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost 300,000 men, soldiers and servants, with other followers of the army.

After this new success Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and 10,000 men, of his best troops, in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet,\* beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements; and in the last took M. Marius, the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity, that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms toward the continent; reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make 30,000 Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for only one drachm,† and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion, which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his usual residence, and he designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not

\* Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam. Cic. pro lege Manil. n. 21.

Quid? Illam pugnam navalem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocriter certamine et parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? Id. pro Murena, n. 33.

† Tenpence.

contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges which were not worth his trouble ; and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification ; " That is directly what I want. I act in this manner for no other purpose, in order that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army, as may embolden him to expect us in the field, and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe that he has behind him immense solitudes and infinite deserts, in which, it will be impossible for us either to come up with or pursue him ? Armenia is but a few days march from these deserts. There Tigranes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose power is so great, that he subdues the Parthians, transports whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has made himself master of Syria and Palestine, exterminated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried their wives and daughters into captivity. This powerful prince is the ally and son in law of Mithridates. Do you think, when he has him in his palace as a suppliant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against us ? Hence, in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against us, and who can never find one more specious, legitimate, and honourable, than that of assisting his father in law, and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why, therefore, should we serve Mithridates against ourselves, or show him to whom he should have recourse for the means of supporting the war with us, by pushing him, against his will, and at a time perhaps when he looks upon such a step as unworthy his valor and greatness, into the arms and protection of Tigranes ? Is it not infinitely better, by giving him time to take courage, and strengthen himself with his own forces, to have only upon our hands the troops of Colchis, the Tibarenians, and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeated, than to expose ourselves to having the additional force of the Armenians and Medes to contend with ?"

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light. \* " He went into Asia, a province abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a manner in this important war, that he did many great actions without the general, the general none without him." Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabire. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got from his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands ; and it was owing en-

\* *Asiam istam refertam et candem delicatam, sic obiit, ut in ea neque avertitæ, neque luxuriæ vestigium reliquerit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res et magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine, hoc imperator. Cic. pro Murena, n. 20.*

tirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says Cicero,\* artfully imitated the manners in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of Absyrtus, her brother, in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief, so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding wars; and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabire, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance, than new life to them. In one of these castles, a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a great instance of her good fortune; for the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserable; Mithridates, on his flight, having sent them orders to die by Bacchidas the eunuch.

Among the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion. He sent her at once 15,000 pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with the splendour of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of a husband had given her a master, and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flat-

\* Ex suo regno. sic Mithridates, profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur; quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mororque patris celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in perscquendi studio moror, hos lætitia retardavit. Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.



tered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further than to leave them at liberty to choose the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out, "Ah! fatal trifle, you might at least do me this 'mournful office.'" Then throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice, she took a cup of poison; and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup served to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age, but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities, their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely affected Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates; but having received advice that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his son in law, he returned directly; and after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. \* Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames. but in vain; and, to increase his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A rain that happened to fall, preserved a great number of buildings; and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burned to be rebuilt. This city was an ancient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, which the avarice and cruelty of the usurers, and tax farmers, held under the most dreadful oppression; insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods; and when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of 20,000 talents,\* which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over ; but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had run it up to 120,000 talents ; † so that they still owed treble the sums they had already paid.

‡ Tacitus had reason to say, that usury was one of the most ancient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition ; but, at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one per cent. ; hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarum fœnus* ; because in reckoning the 12 months, 12 per cent. was paid ; *uncia* is the 12th part of an whole.

|| The law of the Twelve Tables prohibited the raising interest to above 12 per cent. This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

§ Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome ; *semunciarum fœnus*.

¶ At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree ; *ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. \*\* Avarice was always too strong for the laws ; and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate ; because God, having forbade any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated ; and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in giving the province of Asia some relaxation, which he could only effect, by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him ; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

### SECTION III.

LUCULLUS DECLARES WAR WITH TIGRANES.—THE LATTER LOSES TWO BATTLES.

†† TIGRANES, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a

\* About 3,000,000 sterling.

† About 18,000,000 sterling.

‡ Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

§ Liv. l. vii. n. 27.

|| Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 61. Liv. l. vii. n. 16.

¶ Liv. l. vii. n. 42.

\*\* Multis plebis scitis obviam itam fraudibus ; quæ toties repressæ, miras per artes rursum oriebantur. Tacit. Annal. l. vi. c. 16.

†† A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Plut. in Lucul. p. 594—512. Mem. c. 48—57. Appian in Mithrid. p. 228—232.

series of successes, of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the "king of kings." After having overthrown and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the great ; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scenites ; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the east, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity that had never known any interruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendour he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity ; who, on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterized his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaint which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it ; he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph ; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that, he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates ; and that in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of "king of kings," of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in public without having four kings attending him ; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad ; at table, in his chamber, in short, every where he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him ; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors ; for at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprising, that a prince of this character, should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It was the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the 25 years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered, that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra, his wife ; that the union between them was of too strict a nature to admit of his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus ; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of emperor, or any other commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprise seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those, who relied less upon the valor of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having

made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independent cities.\* Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took, after a long siege, by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burned almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place; but soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators; a punishment in no wise proportioned to the crying excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with 6000 men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. Nobody dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person that brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes, without loss of reason and insatiation.

Tigranes, at first, had not deigned so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father in law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. † But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation, which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him, "And for you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do in regard to your master's demands?" Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill timed sincerity; "As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it." This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprised of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter; so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commission to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the ques-

\* Memn. c. 51—61.

† A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

tion had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission. This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with 10,000 horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check, he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders for all his troops to repair thither to him.

• Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of all sorts of riches; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king. For this reason, Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigor, believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him in the strongest terms, not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry, in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to him, every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough; but when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils, resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son in law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had about 20,000 archers and slingers, 55,000 horse, 17,000 of which were heavy armed cavalry, 150,000 foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of 35,000, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army, was sufficient to strike terror in to the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with 6000 foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of 24 cohorts, which together did not amount to more than 10 or 12,000 men, all his horse, and about 1000 archers and slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them ; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils ; and of all Tigranes's generals and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable, and a fine railler, used an expression which has been much admired ; " If they " come as ambassadors, they are a great many ; but if as enemies, very " few." Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sun rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their intrenchments. That of the barbarians was on the other side of the river, towards the east ; and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled ; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh ; " Do you see those invincible Roman legions ? You see they " can run away." Taxilus replied, " I wish your majesty's good fortune " may this day do a miracle in your favour ; but the arms and march of " those legions do not argue people running away."

Taxilus was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legion move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, " How ! are those people coming to us ?" They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre ; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because one of those unfortunate days, which the Romans called black days ; for it was the same upon which the army of Scipio\* had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous ; " And for me, I will make this an happy day for the Romans." It was the 6th day of October, the day before the nones of October.

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, made in the form of scales, which glittered surprisingly, under which was his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at a distance with their arrows, and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above 500 paces, neither much broken, nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body

\* The Greek text says, the army of Scipio, which Monsieur de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, the army of Cæpio.

of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords, for the principal, or rather whole force of those heavy armed horse, consisted in their lances, which, when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the enemy, or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he showed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, "the victory is ours, fellow soldiers, the victory is ours." At the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin until they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning, with a few followers; and seeing his son, the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem, weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could, by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time, and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than 100,000 of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped. On the side of the Romans, only five were killed, and 100 wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition; for, by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates, when he was strongest and most formidable; and ruined Tigranes by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself; so that he marched but slowly, and by small days journies to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous

treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers that served him, consoled, encouraged, and revived his hopes; so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, showed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose at Tigranocerta; the Greeks having mutinied against the barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it 8000 talents of coined silver, (about 1,200,000 pounds, sterling.) Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier 800 drachms,\* which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

† As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

‡ If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do so, was very ill taken, both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused, not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprise against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

\* About 20*l*. sterling.

† Strab. l. xi. p. 532. et l. xii. p. 539.

‡ Dion. Cas. l. xxxv. p. i.



## LETTER OF MITHRIDATES TO ARSACES \* KING OF THE PARTHIANS.

" All those who, in a state of prosperity, are invited to enter as confederates into a war, ought first to consider, whether peace be at their option ; and next, whether what is demanded of them is consistent with justice, their interest, safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions of war, and entirely void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire exalted glory. It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes ; or, powerful as you are, that you should join a prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare advance, that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes upon account of his late war with you, and the disadvantageous situation of my affairs, to judge rightly of them, far from opposing my demand, ought to support it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you just cause of complaint, he will accept, without difficulty, whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon him ; and for me, I can say, that fortune, by having deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to give others good counsels ; and, which is much to be desired in persons of prosperity, I can, even from my own misfortunes, supply you with examples, and induce you to take better measures than I have done. For, do not deceive yourself ; it is with all the nations, states, and kingdoms of the earth, the Romans are at war ; and two motives, as ancient as powerful, put their arms into their hands ; the unbounded ambition of extending their conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches." Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after another, and often by one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect ; " Examine now, I beg of you, when we are finally ruined, whether you will be in a condition to resist the Romans, or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to my country ? I know you are powerful in men, in arms, and treasure ; it is therefore we desire to strengthen ourselves by your alliance ; they, to grow rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the intent of Tigranes, to avoid drawing the war into his own country, that we shall go with all our troops, which are certainly well disciplined, to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy in person in their own country. We cannot therefore either conquer or be conquered, without your being in danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when they found themselves stopped by the ocean on the west, turned their arms this way ? That to look back to their foundation and origin, whatever they have, they have from violence, home, wives, lands, and dominions. A vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country, without forefathers, they established themselves for the misfortune of the human race. Neither divine nor human laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak or the powerful. They reckon all enemies, that are not their slaves ; and especially, whatever bears the name of king ; for a few nations affect a free and independent government ; the generality prefer just and equitable masters. They suspect us, because we are said to emulate their power, and may in time avenge their oppressions. But for you, who have Seleucia, the greatest of cities, and Persia, the richest and most powerful of kingdoms, what can you expect from them, but deceit

\* Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.

" at present, and war hereafter ? The Romans are at war with all nations ; but especially with those, from whom the richest spoils are to be expected. They are become great by enterprising, betraying, and making one war bring forth another. By this means they will either destroy all others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be difficult to ruin them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia, and we, on that of Armenia, surround their army, without provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have not been so prudent to understand this common enemy, and to ally ourselves against him. It will be for your immortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to have conquered and destroyed those robbers of the world. This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do ; that you may choose rather to share with us by a salutary alliance, in conquering the common enemy, than to suffer the Roman empire to extend itself universally by our ruin."

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, Mithridates might have hoped from it ; so that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

\* One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recall Megadates from Syria, who had governed it 14 years in his name ; him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. † Syria being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peaceably during four years.

‡ The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of 70,000 chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before he took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to choose an advantageous ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it ; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually ; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them ; to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children ; as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing, that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design, and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river Arsamia,|| which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy. A great battle ensued ; in which the Romans again obtained a complete victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst ; for not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first that fled ; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage ; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

• Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119.

† Justin. l. xi. c. 2.

‡ A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68. Plut. in Lucul. p. 513—515. || Or Arsania.

\* Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war; but as that city was still several days journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached, with its train of snows and storms, the soldiers,† already fatigued by a sufficiently rude campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore re-passed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city of Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter quarters.

It was there the spirit of mutiny began to show itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more, the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man, abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried so far as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions; in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations, with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, calculated to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with 4000 of his own, and 4000 troops given him by Tigranes. ‡ Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigor, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him, from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness; for the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people, for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans; || so that,

\* Dion. Cass. l. xxxvii. p. 3—7.

† *Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et præliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimi longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum commovebatur.* Cic. pro lege Mar. n. 23.

‡ Mithridates et suam manum jam confirmarat, et eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventitiis multorum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno; quod regale iis nomen magnum et sacrum esse videatur. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 24.

|| Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis nunquam est ausus

not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the route, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigor.

\* Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed 7000 men; amongst whom were reckoned 150 centurions, and 24 tribunes,† which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment; which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as a general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them, if he thought fit.

#### SECTION IV.

**MITHRIDATES RECOVERS ALL HIS DOMINIONS.—POMPEY OVERTHROWS HIM IN SEVERAL BATTLES:**

MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, and C. Piso, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

‡ It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age, and of having had almost all the qualities that form a complete general, but the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest; I mean address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences; and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat; ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret; sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.

\* A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 67.

† Quæ calamitas tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.

‡ Dion in Cass. l. xxxv. p. 7.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprised to find, upon their arrival, that, far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. \* He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops and forbade them paying him any further obedience; so that he found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. † Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree to this effect; "That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with making war upon the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives as had been granted him in the war against the pirates; that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to 30 leagues distant from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man; for all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the Higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, that included also all the armies and forces with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed, to succeed more to the honours of his triumph, than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and the senate most concern. They were well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved; but what gave them most pain, and they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It was for this reason they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion the latter pronounced the fine oration before the people, entitled, "For the law of Manilius." After having demonstrated, in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves in

\* In ipso illo malo gravissimæque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit partem Glabriori tradidit. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 26.

† A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238. Dion, Cas. l. xxxvi. p. 70.

the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shows that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good; "Virtues, by so much the more necessary," says he, "as the Roman name has become infamous and hateful among foreign nations, and our allies, in effect of the debauches, avarice, and unheard of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them.\* Instead of which the wise, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey,† will make him be regarded not only as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterestedness of those ancient Romans is real and true; and that it is not without reason, under such magistrates, that nations choose rather to obey the Roman people, than to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people; wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

‡ We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's; he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions; in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them; so that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with showing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. In consequence, it was always his policy to conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

|| Pompey, who had already terminated the war with the pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his brows, struck his

\* *Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines.* Num. 61.

† *Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum, intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentia quod jam nationibus cæteris incredibile, ac falso memoria proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet; nunc intelligunt, non sine causa majores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse.* Ibid. n. 41.

‡ *Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 20, 21.*

|| *A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.*

thigh, and cried, as if oppressed by, and sorry for, that new command :  
 " Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to ? Had I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious ? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back ? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children ? "

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most excessively actuated by that passion. But however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others ; and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation, at this time ; for there was not one of them who did not know that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him ; and his actions soon took off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march, he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties which Lucullus had laid upon them ; deprived others of the rewards he had given them ; in short, his sole view in every thing was to let the partisans of Lucullus see that they adhered to a man who had neither authority nor power. Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had entered into solely from the view of the public good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himself ; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess, as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled ; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to sully, or rather totally eclipse the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity ; but these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips which costs the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms ; Pompey reproached Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was opened to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus ; but not without being long contested.

\* It was he who first brought cherries to Rome, which till then, had been unknown in Europe. They were called cerasus from a city of that name in Cappadocia.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same who was surnamed the god. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed that Pompey had prevented him, he sent to treat with him; but Pompey having demanded by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters; those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into the condition of the Roman army; and to swear that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still 30,000 foot, and 2 or 3000 horse; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and other signs, that there was abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug; and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after, he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight leagues in circumference,† and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him in consequence to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost 50 days, Mithridates escaped by night, with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him; came up with him near the Euphrates, and encamped near him; but apprehending, that in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced against him by night, in order of battle. His design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at daybreak the next morning; but all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed above 10,000 men, and took their whole camp.

\* Plin. l. 15 c. 25.

† 150 stadia.



Mithridates, with 800 horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the Roman army, and went off; but those 800 horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicrates, by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse and wore the habit of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his journeys, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress where the king's treasures and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

\* That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son in law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father in law's head, promising 100 talents† to whomsoever should seize or kill him, under pretence that it was Mithridates who made his son take up arms against him, but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia Major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates, king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father in law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army for carrying on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes, the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates; but on the way was informed of his defeat; and having lost all hopes of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as him. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors sent to him by Mithridates into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. He said, that of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide; that in whatsoever manner he

\* Plut in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dion Cass. l. 36. p. 23, 24.

† 100,000 crowns.

should decide his fate, he should be satisfied ; that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man whom none could conquer ; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When he arrived on horseback near the intrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot ; telling him, that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, and ungirt his sword, gave it to the lictors ; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself on the earth to embrace his knees ; but Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, led him into his tent, and made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He deferred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and the son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father ; and as he had not showed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference as if he had been a stranger ; Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans 6000 talents, (about 900,000 pounds sterling,) for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his ancient kingdom, Armenia Major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death ; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown ; but the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to excite new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view ; and upon his absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put in prison. Afterwards, having discovered, that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him among those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates, king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son in law, and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, that the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than to his father in law ; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required, but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the 6000 talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier 50 drachms, (about 22 shillings sterling,) 1000 to a centurion, (about 25 pounds,) and 10,000, (about 250 pounds,) to each tribune ; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which, he had designed for young Tigranes.

After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northwards in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the \* Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situated between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him; but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

† The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians, sent him a bed, a table, and a throne all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the quaestors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, while he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cosis, the brother of king Orodes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him; but Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace upon the same terms with that he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were compelled to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appanage to one of his sons named Machares; but that young prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city, and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs; but finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than to fall into his father's hands.

Pompey, having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country into which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius, king of the Medes, and Antiochus, king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and

\* Called Cyrenus also by some authors.

† A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

made himself master of the whole empire. Scourus reduced Cœlœsyria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieutenant generals. \* Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who by Lucullus's permission, had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. † In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost 250 years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolemy Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing book.

‡ Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judea. During his residence there, 12 crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

A fine contention between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time; a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem upon his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion on which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have persisted in refusing the sceptre, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has instanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them, in consequence, upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, if her son Xipharex should fall into his hands, that he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mi-

\* App. in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. xl. c. 2.

† A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

‡ Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 659.

§ Nuc ulla finem tam egregium habuisset nisi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuisse. Val. Max.

thridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendering that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, written by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alceus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the charriot race against him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

\* His memoirs of physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Leneus, a good grammarian, one of his freedmen; and they were afterwards made public in that language; for amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicines. It was he who invented the excellent antidote, which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

† Pompey, during his stay at Aspes, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates into the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great risk of perishing; so that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardour into Syria, was his excessive and vain glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red Sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian sea, and believed there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them as far as the Red Sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia upon the Orontes, free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red Sea; but an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of

\* Plin l. 25. c. 20.

† A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639—641. Dion. Cass. l. 37. p. 34, 36. App. p. 246—251.

paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person, as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigor as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass sometime at Amisus, the ancient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publicly charged and reproached Lucullus, that, subsisting the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war be finally terminated ; and now he fell into the same inconsistency himself ; for he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince, inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia Minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war ; to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who, by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least 6000 persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who, being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge among them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high priesthood of Comana was given to his son, in recompense for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, took the advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march toward Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia ; but important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him, and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him ; a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves into his

service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly re-kindle upon his presence; that the pirates would soon re-possess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke, by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he had revolved in his mind.

But, as to execute this project, it was necessary to march 500 leagues, and traverse the countries now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po; the idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march threw his army into such a terror, that, to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment; and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says he was killed by his own son.

\* Mithridates had reigned 60 years, and lived 72. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason that the poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error; and it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses despatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with laurels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only begun to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal, from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates ; a prince, says an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent. Full of activity in war, of distinguished courage, and sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution ; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger ; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings. \* *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus*. It is certain that the Romans had never such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities ; a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing ; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings ; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress ; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again on the stage on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe that he was a consummate general ; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first ; but against generals, without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, opposed him, it does not appear he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But, should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

† Pompey, being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judea employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent him ; no doubt to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents, in order to incline him to his favour. Pompey accepted the presents ; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey, he took possession of all the places in the hands of those to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept ; his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Among those rich things were 2000 cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold ; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that it cost the quæstor, or treasurer of the army, 30 days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, in reward of his parricide, declared him friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of

\* Académ. Quæst. l. iv. n. 8.

† Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 4, 8. et de Bell. Jud. l. 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. App. p. 250. Dion. Cass. l. xxxvi. p. 35, and 26.



his soldiers 1500 drachms, (about 37 pounds sterling,) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was 16,000 talents ; (that is to say, about 2,400,000 pounds ;) besides which, he had 20,000 more, (3,000,000,) to put into the treasury at Rome upon the day of his entry.

\* His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused 324 captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot ; among whom were Aristobulus, king of Judea, with his son Antigonus ; Olthaces king of Colchos ; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia ; the sister, five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, sceptre, and gold bust of eight cubits, or twelve feet in height, were carried in triumph.

\* A. M. 3943. Ant. J. C. 61.

## BOOK XXIII.

### THE

# HISTORY OF EGYPT.

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#### PLAN.

THIS book contains the history of 35 years, from the beginning of the reign of Ptolemæus Auletes, to the death of Cleopatra, with which ended the kingdom of Egypt; that is to say, from the year of the world 3939, to 3974.

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#### SECTION I.

PTOLEMÆUS AULETES HAD BEEN PLACED UPON THE THRONE OF EGYPT IN THE ROOM OF ALEXANDER.

\* **W**E have seen in what manner Ptolemæus Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will; but to show that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it had been a very insecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they had so just a claim; unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects that do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of "Player on the flute," which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans, as before in that of the Egyptians.

† He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and ex-

\* A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

† Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 54. Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.

pedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost 6000 talents, that is to say, almost 900,000 pounds. At this price, he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

\* Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly overtaxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus as an ancient appanage of Egypt, and in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

† Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who, after his death was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know of his arrival; expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much surprised, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him, in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, one may easily guess with what views, dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city, reduced to solicit his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

‡ Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome; he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with

\* A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. † Plut. in Cato Utic. p. 776.

‡ Dion. Cass. l. xxxix. p. 97, 99. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. Id in Piso. n. 48—50. Id. pro Cæli. n. 23, 24.

Cæsar, Ptolemy had afterwards cultivated his friendship by various services, which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained 8000 horse for him in that of Judea. Having therefore made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

\* But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians having been informed that their king was not dead as they believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify the revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than 100 persons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and intimidated those so much, whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible; and his immense profusion, in gaining the poorest and most self interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius, the stoic philosopher, was the first in it who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his request it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought that nothing further at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in effect, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

† In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected; and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he proposed to the people an oracle of the Sybils, which imported, "If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity; but, however, you shall not give him any troops; for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much."

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the

\* A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

† A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priest, with whom the sacred books were deposited, to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office as tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sybil were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar, which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. Nobody doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess; and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanding by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because, it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged, with reason, that it was necessary to substitute, in the room of force, a person of great authority; and Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. \* The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus, his intimate friend, who during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbidden by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtilty, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went, however, with a good army to besiege Alexandria? After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter wrote by him at that time to Lentulus; "You are the best judge," says he, "as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest

\* Cic. ad Famil. l. 1. epist. 7.

“ of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own and the honour of the  
 “ commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leav-  
 “ ing the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place ; in or-  
 “ der, that after you have appeased the revolt, and left good garrisons  
 “ where necessary, that prince may safely return thither.\* In this man-  
 “ ner you will reinstate him, according to the senate’s first decree, and he  
 “ be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the sense of the  
 “ Sybil.” Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so im-  
 “ portant as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion,  
 “ which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity upon which  
 Cicero valued himself ? It was, because he reckoned the oracle only pre-  
 tended to be the Sybils, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance  
 and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprise, which were great  
 and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in  
 the conclusion of his letter, where he represented, “ that† all the world  
 “ would judge of his conduct from the event ; that therefore he had only to  
 “ take his measures so well, as to assure his success, and that otherwise he  
 “ would do better not to undertake it.

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less  
 apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an  
 express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon  
 the nearest border, without an express order of the senate, he had marched  
 to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his  
 brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. † He had already  
 passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined  
 him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had  
 very lately been declared consul for the year ensuing. By those letters he  
 conjured Gabinus to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince  
 should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom.  
 However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and  
 still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinus begin to waver.  
 The lively remonstrances of Anthony, who sought occasions to signalize  
 himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flat-  
 tered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark An-  
 thony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and  
 Lepidus. Gabinus had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving  
 him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprise, the  
 more right Gabinus thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The  
 latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for  
 himself and the army 10,000 talents, (or 1,500,000 pounds,) the greatest  
 part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as  
 he should be reinstated. Gabinus accepted the offer without hesitation.

‡ Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As  
 soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown

\* Ita fore ut per te restitatur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit ; et sine  
 multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines, religiosi Sybillæ placere dixe-  
 runt.

† Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicatuuros, vide mus. Nos qui-  
 dem hoc sentimus ; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse  
 cunctandum ; sin dubium, non esse conandum

‡ A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. App. in Syr. p. 120. et in Parth. p. 134. Plut.  
 in Anton. p. 916, 917.

§ Strab. l. xii. p. 538. Id. l. xvii p. 794—796. Dion. l. xxxix. p. 115—117.  
 Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest male heir. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned; they brought an account that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was, to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put in a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though in effect only the son of that prince's chief general.

Gabinus, after having re-passed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium; for they could not avoid passing plains covered with sands of such a depth, as was terrible to think on, and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Anthony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.

The enemy found a considerable advantage in the desire of glory, which possessed Anthony; for Ptolemy had no sooner entered Pelusium, than, out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Anthony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valor, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinus received advice of Anthony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time, in consequence, for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp, and break ground for the intrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work, at the expense of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in effect, soon put to the route. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Anthony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans, who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valor and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinus left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and gave in to the luxury and effeminacy which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the

crown during his exile ; and afterwards got rid in the same manner, of all the rich persons who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

\* The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring ; but some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinius, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country ; for cats were of that number.

† Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him in order to his being paid when he was entirely reinstated, that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues ; by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, though one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he went thither. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that use ; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt ; and lastly, of having shared in the money which Gabinius brought from thence, with whom it was alleged, he had a fellow feeling. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

‡ Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house and govern jointly ; and because they were both very young, for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only 17 years of age, he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. || We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

## SECTION II.

CLEOPATRA EXPELLED THE THRONE ; BUT IS AFTERWARDS, WITH HER YOUNGER BROTHER, RE-ESTABLISHED.—POMPEY ASSASSINATED.

§ LITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eu-

\* Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 74, 75.

† Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

‡ A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51.

Cæs. de Bello. Civl. iii.

|| Eutrop. l. vi.

§ A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48 Plut. in Pomp. p. 659—662. Id. in Cæs. p.



nuch, and of Achilles the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt, to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine, to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Cassius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achilles, consulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make. Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of the three unworthy persons that governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father in law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods; and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding the world of him. His reason was, because if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy; if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them, for their refusal; that therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death; by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt; for, said he, according to the proverb, "dead men do not bite."

This advice carried it, as being in their sense the wisest and most safe. Septimus, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimus tendered his hand to Pompey, in the name of his master, and bade him come to him, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, "Every man that enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before," he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed men gave it with the assistance of an old Roman who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea. This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chase them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him; only 800 horse, and 3200 foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant generals, with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries.\* As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities; and the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours all who had adhered to him then in Egypt, and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the lives, and do services to some citizens who had borne arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar perceiving that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which, in that country, blew continually in the dog days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognisance of the difference between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him, by the promise of 6000 talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder.

Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted with rigor. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigor appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom, eat out of earthen or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate, in order to ren-

\* Cæsar confisus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitaverat; atque omen sibi locum tutum fore existimabat. Cæs.

der him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independent, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority was then vested in his person, in quality of consul ; that as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them ; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived that those she employed in her behalf betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took nobody with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark, at night. Finding that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem ; she laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of clothes ; Apollodorus wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person had all the effect upon him that she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly that his judge was become his adversary ; and having learned that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground ; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar had infallibly been overpowered and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to show himself to them from a part of the palace so high that he had nothing to fear upon it ; from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoë the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrian's fury; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making this concession.

\* The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force, and through fear, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw that the people came in to his views, he made Achilles advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Achilles, who had 20,000 good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their designs, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were 400,000 volumes. What a loss was this to literature!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia Minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other, that marched by land, did not go thither at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Celicia; for he brought him the troops, which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his

possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands ; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achilles, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigor. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoë the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians ; who, not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achilles, caused that general to be accused of having given up the fleet to Cæsar, that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs ; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. \* In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs which were the cisterns of the city, when it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water ; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome ; for there were no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications with the caverns in the quarters of Cæsar to be stopped up ; and then found means to turn the sea water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinus had sent by sea was arrived upon the coast of Lybia, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprised of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and

\* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as of old. Thevenot's travels.

brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria ; and, had not the night came on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses, next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and expected the success with fear and trembling ; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the assistance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at stake, to whom there was no resource left if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valor and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than 800 men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat ; for the ship, in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people who had entered it with him he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other ; so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians, seeing that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him ; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions ; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince, to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity ; to redress the evils with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions ; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty ; and to show his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others.\* The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigor than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

† He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumean contributed very much towards it. He not only joined him with 3000 Jews, but engaged several neighbouring

\* Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne agentis suæ moribus degeneraret, flens orare contra Cæsarem cœpit, ne se demitteret ; non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundius. Hæro. de Bell. Alex.

† Joseph. Atiq. l. xiv. c. 14, 15.

princes of Arabia and Coelosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city ; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his credit, and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridate's wing was soon broke and obliged to give way ; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to escape, by re-passing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them ; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat, was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January ; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone ; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cesario, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt, than his affairs required ; for though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he staid there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

\* Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her ; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared a harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoe, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold ; but immediately after that so-

lemnity be set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence, at least it was there Anthony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed; and ordered a column to be erected, on which by his command, all those privileges were engraven, with the decree confirming them.

\* What at length made him quit Egypt was the war with Pharnaces king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela,† defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquests, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words; *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is to say, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

### SECTION III.

CLEOPATRA REIGNS ALONE.—DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR.—TRAGICAL END OF ANTHONY AND CLEOPATRA.

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority all power was in her hands.‡ When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time when according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius; and the triumvirate between Anthony Lepidas, and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed to avenge the death of Cæsar.

|| Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the triumvirs. She gave Albius, the consul, Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out. § Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet to join Anthony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

¶ Anthony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the east, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed that

\* Plut. in Cæs. p. 731.

† This was a city of Cappadocia.

‡ A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. p. 226.

§ Appian. l. iii. p. 576. l. iv. p. 623. l. v. p. 675.

¶ A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

¶ A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927. Diod. l. xlviii. p. 371. Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 671.



the governors of Phœnicia, which was in the dependence of the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him to answer for the conduct of her governors; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cicilia, wither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Anthony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra having awakened passions in him till then concealed or asleep, inflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms by the proof she had already so made of them upon Julius Caesar, was in hopes that she could also very easily captivate Anthony; and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience of the world; whereas she was going to appear before Anthony, at an age wherein women with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to treat and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time 25 years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially the most magnificent habits and ornaments; and with still higher hopes in her attractions and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Anthony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey; but she only laughed at their instances, and used never the more diligence for them. After having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than her's. The whole poop of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereids, and others the graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and such other instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burnt on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her; so that Anthony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade, to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Anthony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself; and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem agreeable day.

Anthony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had used to exceed her in his entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendour as disposition of the feast, and was the first to rally the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison

with the sumptuousity and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen, finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Anthony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin ; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left such incentives in the heart, the very soul, as were not easily conceivable. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were really without foundation. She struck Anthony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a secure asylum.

\* Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still outdid that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Anthony, in a feast which she made, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with an air of indifference, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Anthony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and after him, Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jested, according to custom, upon Anthony's table, as very indifferently served, and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence. Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend more† than 1,000,000 of livres upon one supper. He affirmed that she only boasted ; that it was impossible ; and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Anthony calculated the expense, demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as if secure of victory, told her that they were still far from a million. Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning, I shall try whether I cannot spend a million upon myself. A second table was brought ;‡ and, according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it but a single cup of vinegar. Anthony, surprised at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which were valued at about 50,000 pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into the vinegar,|| and after having made it

\* Athen. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

† Centies H. S. Hoc est centies centena millies sestertium. " Which amounted to more than 1,000,000 of livres, or 52,500 pounds sterling.

‡ The ancients changed their tables at every course.

|| " Vinegar is of force to melt the hardest things." Aceti succus domitor rerum, as Pliny says of it, l. xxxiii. c. 3. " Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian, Clodius the son of Esopus, had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expense of his meals enormous."

melt, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other.\* Plancus stopped her, and, deciding the wager in her favour, declared Anthony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having swallowed 2,000,000 in two cups.

† Anthony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expenses; which may be judged of from the following circumstance.

‡ A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Anthony's kitchen, he saw, among other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. He expressed surprise at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all; but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils; "for," added he, "it often happens, that Anthony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason, not one, but many suppers, are provided; because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat."

Cleopatra, lest Anthony should escape her, never lost sight of him nor quitted him day nor night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him; and when he exercised his troops was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Anthony drew up his line several times with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprise at Anthony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing boats, and Anthony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Anthony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Anthony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine, what a great laugh arose at the sight of

*Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,  
Scilicet ut decies solidum exorberet, aceto  
Diluit insignem baccam.* Hor. l. ii. Sat. 5.

\* This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome, on his return from Alexandria; and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.

† A. M. 3994. Ant. J. C. 40.

‡ Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

that salt fish ; and Cleopatra said to him, " Leave the line, good general, " to us, the kings and queens of Pharos and Canopus ; your business is to " fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings."

Whilst Anthony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married ; a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. \* But having begun his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

† This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Anthony very much contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above 200,000 volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament ; she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter ; she answered most of them in their own language ; the Ethiopians, Troglodyte, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. ‡ She knew besides, several other languages ; whereas the kings who had reigned before her in Egypt, had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Anthony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Anthony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judea and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans ; and they were no less offended at the excessive honours which he paid this foreign princess.

Two years passed, during which Anthony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

¶ It was in one of these expeditions the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broken in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna, in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. " Is it true," said that prince at table, talking of this story, " that the man who made the first " stroke at the statue of this goddess was immediately deprived of sight, lost " the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?" " If it were," replied the veteran with a smile, " I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person, who made the first " attack upon her, which has since stood me in great stead ; for if I have any

\* A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

† A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Epiphan. de mens. et pond.

‡ Plut. in Anton. p. 927.

¶ Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 23.

"thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess ; upon one of  
"whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper."

\* Anthony, believing he made every thing secure in those countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigor of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost 8000 men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra ; and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with clothes, and great sums of money, for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came to dispute Anthony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid such danger, she affected to die for love of Anthony ; and, with that view made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprise and amazement ; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide her weakness and disorder. Anthony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no farther, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. At the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was in reality making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Anthony received this second compliment no better than the first ; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would not permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage than that of making Anthony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Anthony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house ; and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Anthony than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra ! In the midst of resentment and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence !

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Anthony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents, she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatters represented to him, in the strongest terms, that it

was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was ; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved, and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Anthony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes till the following spring.

\* It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

† After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure, after his great fatigues, in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed night and day. That vain † Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets, seeing Anthony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Anthony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Anthony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe, embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side he wore a scimitar, after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones ; he had a diadem on his brows, and a sceptre of gold in his hand ; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a shining robe made of the precious linen appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cesario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Anthony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds by the command of Anthony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cælosyria, in conjunction with her son Cesario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes kings of kings, and declared, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Anthony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it ; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were dressed according to the mode of the several countries over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes arising from their seats approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Anthony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Anthony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians, and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis ; but the news of what

\* A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34. † A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 33.

† Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperium petit ; et promisit Antonius. Flor. l. iv. c. 11.

passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act, in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him ; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party ; and that occasioned Anthony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Anthony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war who contributed so much towards it on her side, nor useful to himself ; because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army ; she, who had governed a kingdom so long, might have learned, in her commerce with Anthony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Anthony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed their time in feasting and pleasure. The kings, in their train exhausted themselves in making their court by extraordinary expenses, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

\* It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Anthony, as he perfectly knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him ; for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquets, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible how ill founded his fears were ; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Anthony and herself at table, according to the custom of the ancients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking off those flowers to Anthony. He made no difficulty of it ; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him, " I am the poisoner, against whom you take such mighty precautions. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or reason for such an action." Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor ; upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem Octavia had received, during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Anthony obliged

\* Plin. l. xxi. c. 3.

the citizens to send to her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

\* The new consuls, Cajus Sossius, and Domitius Enobarbus, having declared openly for Anthony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission ; and declared publicly, that all persons, who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Anthony.

When Anthony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party ; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Anthony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously, without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side ; for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness carried it ; and the operations were put off till the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies sent by Anthony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave nobody in it but the son of Anthony by Fulvia ; an indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears ; and as unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty differences ; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment about it ; and that she should be very wretched, if she were the occasion of a new war ; she who had solely consented to her marriage with Anthony, from the hope that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a very different effect from her intentions ; and the people charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Anthony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Anthony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by two persons of consular dignity,† who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Anthony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care ; alleging in their excuse the faith of deposits, which they were obliged to observe ; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the forum, these three articles were read in it. I. That Anthony acknowledged Cesario the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of kings of kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same

\* A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32. Plut. in Anton. p. 942—955.

† Titus and Plancus.



evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæsar, to render Anthony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Anthony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament which violated them with so much contempt?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused it to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra. It was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Anthony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him; for, besides throwing the blame upon Anthony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Anthony had been expressly named in the decree.

Anthony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of 500 ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea, might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for completely manning those heavy machines, that Anthony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than to do service.

On board this fleet were 200,000 foot, and 12,000 horse. The kings of Lybia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagene, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judea, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen, than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; the flags and streamers floating in the wind, while trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Anthony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid. That queen,\* drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared, with her infamous troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

\* ——— Dum Capitolio  
Regina dementes ruinas,  
Fumus et imperio parabat  
Contaminato cum grege turpium  
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens  
Sperare, fortunaque dulci  
Ebria ———

HOR. OD. 37. L. 1.

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine,  
Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,  
The haughty queen conceives the wild design,  
So much her vain ambition charms,  
With her polluted band of supple slaves,  
Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,  
The capitol in dust to level low,  
And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal blow.

On the other side, less pomp and splendour was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only 250 ships, and 80,000 foot, with as many horse as Anthony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Anthony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Anthony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring came on.

\* Anthony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulf in Epirus. Anthony's bravest and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in number to Cæsar's seemed to promise him the victory, whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied on. But it was long since Anthony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape in her ships than by land. Her opinion therefore took place against the advice of all the generals.

† The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Anthony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, that consisted of 60 ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Anthony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which, till then, he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear; for Anthony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day, Cæsar seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Anthony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Anthony having entered the admiral galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting, with profound melancholy, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to Tenarus,† without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

\* A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. † The 4th. before the nones of September.

‡ Promontory of Laconia.

The land army still remained entire, and consisted of 18 legions and 22,000 horse, under the command of Canidius, Anthony's lieutenant general, and might have made head, and given Cæsar abundance of difficulty ; but seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tenarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Anthony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army, to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she had arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious ; and no sooner landed, than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom, whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Anthony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

\* Soon after, she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who, she foresaw, would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red Sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than 30 leagues broad, and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coast, having burned all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing, therefore, her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Anthony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than a husband, she entertained hopes of preserving it, at the price of Anthony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his, but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Anthony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures ; her person, to adorn his triumph ; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Anthony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country house which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In this retirement it might have been expected, that he would bear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and, with design to please her, sent

deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person, provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

The second deputation not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Anthony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment; and that those which were gentle, brought on an easy, but slow death; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; and which, throwing the persons bit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Anthony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude, in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birthday with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Anthony with a splendour and magnificence above what she had ever instanced before; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Anthony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery, by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess! The most odious of vices were united in her person; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending, lest her despair should induce her to burn them, despatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind

and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Anthony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally; and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the very gates of their camp a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valor; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him, he came, completely armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Anthony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day, and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Anthony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited without making any motion, to see the success of that attack; but was much astonished, when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Anthony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity, he was for signalizing himself by an extraordinary act of valor, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Anthony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Anthony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artful princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Anthony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which she had ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Anthony to be told, that, preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors' tombs, where she had also chose her own sepulchre. Anthony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities, and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast; but that slave full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Anthony, looking upon this action as an example for him to

follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had caused herself to be shut up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprise; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Anthony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Anthony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give her no further aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her clothes upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Anthony's hair, according to the superstition of the pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Anthony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms; and that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour; to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Anthony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive, if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had however a conversation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together; during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar. Proculeius, after having considered the place well, went to make his report to Cæsar, who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke, like him, through the crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, and entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Anthony, and, followed by two officers who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women, who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprise, "O unfortunate Cleopatra, you are 'taken!'" Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle; but Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her,

"You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of showing his goodness and clemency." At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire ; he likewise instructed Proculeius to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Arius, upon whom he leaned with an air of familiarity, to signify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there ; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them, for three reasons ; the first, upon the account of Alexander their founder ; the second, for the beauty of their city ; and the third, for the sake of Arius, one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Anthony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no costs to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the east, and placed it among the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning ; but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission ; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mein, which she derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct ; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through the depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Anthony.

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. "My lord," said she to him, pointing to those pictures, "behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for my crown." Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it ; "See also," said she, kissing them, "the dear testimonies of his love." She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving exclamations and passionate glances ; but she employed those arts with no success ; for, whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected

with either her person or conversation ; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury ; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in return, she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt ; and in effect, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues ; and as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects ; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows on the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, " Is it not a horrible thing," said she to him, " that when you have not disdained to visit me and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some women's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia ; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess."

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved ; and after having assured her, that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew, that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where ; and besides, that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better, therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Anthony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Anthony, to whom she addressed her discourse, as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and laments, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from the table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar ; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if she had fallen asleep ; but that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it ; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there seemed so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the



same tomb with that of Anthony, and instantly despatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

\* That princess was too haughty, and too much above the vulgar to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw, with dry eyes and indifference, the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.

She died at 39 years of age, of which she had reigned 22 from the death of her father. The statues of Anthony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were. Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar 1000 talents, that they might not be treated as Anthony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a prefect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued 293 years, from the year of the world 3681 to 3974.

\* *Ausa et jacentem visere regiam  
Vultu sereno fortis, et asperas  
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum  
Corpore combiberet venenum,  
Deliberata morte ferocior ;  
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens,  
Privata deduci superbo,  
Non humilis mulier triumpho.* Hor. Od. xxxvii. l. 1.

Not the dark palace of the realms below  
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul ;  
Calmly she looks, from her superior wo,  
That can both death and fear control ;  
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,  
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.  
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,  
She will not from her own descend,  
Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his side,  
His pompous triumph to attend ;  
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.

# CONCLUSION

## OF

### THE ANCIENT HISTORY.

**W**E have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and ancient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which, having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and, by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatness has of most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration! All these, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it; height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgment; the excellent taste of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the natural and the true; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valor in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wise magistrates! What learned philosophers! What admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty which astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But, whilst we are in admiration and ecstasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them but trifle, meanness, vanity, and pride; and, whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, God, from his throne on high overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him; \* "He seeth from everlasting to everlasting." He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have seen that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue which Nebuchodonosor saw of an enormous height, and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus? † "A

"small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and break them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. Jesus Christ, who descended to clothe himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching his disciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, Jesus Christ will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet represents him to us; \* "He went forth conquering and to conquer." His work and mission are, "to set up a kingdom for his father, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people;" like those of which we have seen in the history; "but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms; and it shall stand for ever."

The power granted to Jesus Christ, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their puissance, have nothing which approaches, in the least to that of Jesus Christ. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. But with Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise; † "All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth." He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power; every thing co-operates directly, or indirectly to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion, and fluctuate upon earth; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and the human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which, however, determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments, and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect; ‡ "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power." God grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose kingdom is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat, fiat.*

\* Apoc. vi. 2.

† Math. xxviii. 18.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 24.

INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
**CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.**

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*CHRONOLOGY.*

**C**HRONOLOGY is the knowledge of times. It shows to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years used for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The solar year is that space of time between one equinox and another of the same denomination the next year ; for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days, 5 hours and 49 minutes.

The lunar year is composed of 12 lunar months, of which each is 29 days, 12 hours and 44 minutes, that make in all 354 days, 8 hours and 48 minutes.

Both of these years are called astronomical, to distinguish them from that vulgarly used, which is termed civil or political.

Though nations may not agree among themselves in the manner of determining their years, some regulating them by the sun's motion, and others by the moon's, they however generally use the solar year in chronology. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations ; but it is to be observed, that the people who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days to make them agree with the solar ; which reconcile them with each other, or at least, if there be any difference, it may be neglected when the question is only to determine the year in which a fact has happened.

In chronology there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred. \* These are called epochs, from a Greek word, which signifies to stay, because we stay there to consider, as from a resting place ; all that has happened before or after, and by that means to avoid anachronisms ; that is to say, those errors which induce confusion of times.

The choice of the events which are to serve as epochs is arbitrary ; and a writer of history may take such as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of those points distinguished by a considerable event, the enumeration and series of such years are called eras. There are almost as many eras as there have been different nations. The principal, and most used are those of the World, of Jesus Christ, of the Olympiads, and of Rome. I should have been glad to have used all the four in the chronological table at the end of my history ; but the narrow compass of these pages obliges me to confine myself to the two most famous ; that is to say, that of the World, and that of Jesus Christ.

Every body knows, that the Olympiads derive their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her epoch for computing her years. By Olympiad is meant the space of four years complete, which is the time that elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228, before Christ 776. When the time on which an event happened is reckoned by the Olympiads, authors say the first, second, or third, &c. year of such an Olympiad ; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred ; and in like manner, when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's Chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years reckoned from this epoch are called indifferently years of Rome, or years from the foundation of the city.

The Julian period is also a famous era in chronology, used principally for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use ; but, first, I must give the reader an idea of the three cycles, of which it is composed.

By the word cycle, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The solar cycle is a term of 28 years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to say, at the end of 28 years the first seven letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called dominical letters, return in the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only 52 weeks, there would be no change in the order of the dominical letters ; but as it has a day more, and two in leap year, that produces all the variations included in the space of 28 years, of which the solar cycle consists.

The lunar cycle, called also the golden number, is the revolution of 19 years, at the end of which the moon returns, within near an hour and a half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the cycle to Methon, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the epacts, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Besides these two cycles, chronologers admit of a third also, called indiction. This is a revolution of 15 years, of which the first is called the first indiction, the second, the second indiction, and so on to the fifteenth ; after which they begin again to count the first indiction, &c.

The first indiction is generally supposed to have begun three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say, 28, 19, and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is what is called the Julian period.

One of the properties of this period, is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say. the current year of each of the three cycles ; for example, every body knows that the vulgar era commences at the year 4714 of the Julian period. If that number be divided by 28,

what remains\* after the division, shows the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated, that the three numbers which express these three cycles cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the Julian period. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year, that is to say, to the year when the three cycles of which it is composed began, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years, supposing the creation to precede the vulgar era only 4004 years.

This period is also called Julian, because it is made to agree with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided the chronologers concerning the length of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. There are who believe that only 4004 years of the world are to be reckoned before Jesus Christ. Others give more extent to that space, and augment the number of years of which it consists. These variations disappear when the Julian period is used; for every body agrees in respect to the year in which it began, and there is nobody who does not know, that the first year of the vulgar era falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

It is easy to find the year of the Julian period, that answers to any year whatsoever of the vulgar era of the world; for as the beginning of the Julian period precedes that era 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the era of the world, we have the year of the Julian period that answers to it. For instance, we know that the battle of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673. If to that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the Julian period, to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

\*It remains for me to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my Chronological Table. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, in order that all the events that happened in the same year might be seen at one view; but, besides my not having sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found that I should have been obliged to leave too many blank spaces, which would have considerably lengthened the table, and in consequence swelled the volume, that, as it is, is very large. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. The histories of those two people are abundantly interwoven with each other, and have little relation to those of the other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows that hitherto I have not entered into chronological discussions, and undoubtedly does not expect that I should do so now. I shall generally follow Usher, whom I have chosen for my guide in this subject.

\*I say what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of cycles elapsed since the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division shows the year of the current cycle.

## THE TABLE.

**A. M. A. C.**

**ASSYRIANS.**

- 1800 2204 Nimrod, founder of the first empire of the Assyrians.  
 Ninus, son of Nimrod.  
 Semiramis. She reigned 42 years.  
 Ninyas.

*The history of the successors of Ninyas for 30 generations,  
 except of Phul and Sardunapalus, is unknown.*

**EGYPT.**

**GREECE.**

- 1816 2188 Menes, or Mesraim, first  
 king of Egypt.  
 Busiris.  
 Osymandias.  
 Ochoreus.  
 Mæris.

1915 2089

Foundation of the kingdom  
 of Sicyon.

- 1920 2084 The king-shepherds seize  
 the lower Egypt. They reign  
 260 years.

- 2084 1920 Abraham enters Egypt,  
 where Sarah is in great dan-  
 ger from one of the king-  
 shepherds.

2148 1856

Foundation of the kingdom  
 of Argos. Deluge of Ogyges in  
 Attica.

- 2179 1825 Thetmosis expels the king-  
 shepherds, and reigns in the  
 lower Egypt.

- 2276 1728 Joseph is carried into E-  
 gypt, and sold to Potiphar.

- 2298 1706 Jacob goes into Egypt with  
 his family.

- 2427 1577 Ramesses-Miamum begins  
 to reign in Egypt. He per-  
 secutes the Israelites.

- 2448 1556 Cecrops carries a colony  
 from Egypt, and founds the  
 kingdom of Athens.

Foundation of the kingdom  
 of Athens by Cecrops. He  
 institutes the Areopagus.

2488 1516

Under Cranaus, successor  
 of Cecrops, happens Deucali-  
 on's flood.

Foundation of the kingdom  
 of Lecadæmonia, of which Le-  
 lex is the first king.

A.M. A.C.

EGYPT.

GREECE.

2494 1510 Amenophis, the eldest son of Ramesses, succeeds him.

2513 1491 The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is swallowed up in the Red Sea. Sesostris his son succeeds him. He divides Egypt into 30 nomes, or districts, renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Tanais. On his return into Egypt, he kills himself, after a reign of 33 years.

2530 1474

Danaus, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt, and retires into the Peloponnesus, where he makes himself master of Argos.

2547 1457 Pheron succeeds Sesostris.

Perseus, the fifth of Danaus's successors, having unfortunately killed his grandfather, abandons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycenæ.

2628 1376

Sisypheus, the son of Æolus, makes himself master of Corinth.

2710 1294

The descendants of Sisypheus are driven out of Corinth by the Heraclidæ.

2720 1284

Ægus, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in the reign of this prince.

2800 1204 Proteus. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. Rhampsinth.—Cheops.—Chephrem.—Mycerinus.—Asychis.

The Heraclidæ make themselves masters of Peloponnesus; from whence they are obliged to retire soon after.

The six preceding reigns were 170 years in duration; but it is hard to assign the length of each of them in particular.

2820 1184

Troy taken by the Greeks.

2900 1104

The Heraclidæ re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Sparta where the brothers Eurysthenes and Procles reign together.



A.M. A.C.  
2934 1070

## EGYPT.

## GREECE.

Institution of the archons at Athens. Medon, the son of Codrus, is the first.

2949 1055

Cadmus builds the city of Thebes, and makes it the seat of his government.

3291 1013 Pharaoh king of Egypt gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon.

3026 978 Sesac, otherwise called Sesonchis. It was with him that Jeroboam took refuge.

3033 971 Sesac marches against Jerusalem, and conquers Judæa.

3063 941 Zara king of Egypt makes war with Asa king of Judah.

Anysis. In his reign Sabacus, king of Ethiopia, makes himself master of Egypt, reigns there 50 years; after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to Anysis.

3120 884

Lycurgus.

3160 844

Homer. Hesiod lived about the same time.

3210 794

Caranus founds the kingdom of Macedonia.

3228 776

Beginning of the common era of the Olympiads.

*I return to the chronology of the Assyrians, which I discontinued, because from Ninyas down to about this time, nothing is known of their history.*

## ASSYRIANS.

3233 771 Phul, the king of Nineveh, who repented upon Jonah's preaching.

3237 767 Sardanapalus, the last king of the first empire of the Assyrians. After a reign of 20 years, he burns himself in his palace.

The first empire of the Assyrians, which ended at the death of Sardanapalus, had subsisted more than 1450 years. Out of its ruins three others were formed; that of the Assyrians of Babylon; that of the Assyrians of Nineveh; and that of the Medes.

## EGYPT. GREECE. BAB. NINEVEH. MEDIA. LYDIA.

3257 747

Belesis, Theg- Arba-  
or Nabo- lath Pha- ces exer-  
nassar. lasar. cises the  
The The 8th sovereign  
scripture year of authority  
calls him his reign over the  
Baladan. he aids Medes,

A.M.	A.C.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	BAB.	NINEVEH.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.
3261	743		First war between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians. It continues 20 years.		Ahaz king of Judah, & makes himself master of Syria, and of part of the kingdom of Judah	without taking upon him the title of king.	The Heraclidæ possess the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon was the first king. He began to reign A.M. 2781. The history of his successors is little known before Candaulus.
3268	736			Mero-dach Bal-ladan. He sent am-bassadors to Heze-kiah, to congrat-ulate him upon the recovery of his health. Nothing is known of the other kings who reigned in Baby-lon.		Salma-naser. The 8th year of his reign he took Samaria, and carri-ed away the peo-ple into captivity	
3269	735						
3280	724						
4285	719	Sehon.	Archil-ochus the famous poet.				
3286	718	He reigned 14 years.					Gygea. He puts Candau-les to death, and reigns in his stead,
3287	717					Senna-cherib. In the 5th year of his reign he makes war against Hezeki-ah king of Judah. An an-gel des-troys his army at the time he is be-sieging Jerusa-	

**A.M. A.C. EGYPT. GREECE. BAB. NINEVEH. MEDIA. LYDIA.**

lem. On his return to his kingdom he is killed by his two sons.

**Asar-  
haddon.**

**Dejoces**  
causes  
himself  
to be de-  
clared  
king of  
the  
**Medes.**

**3294 710**

**3296 708**

**3298 706 Tharaca**  
**reigns 18**  
**years.**  
**Anarchy**  
**2 years in**  
**Egypt.**

**3319 685 Twelve**

3320	684	of the	Second
3323	681	principal	war be-
3324	680	lords of	tween the
		Egypt	Lacedæ-
		seize the	monians
		kingdom,	and Mes-
		of which	senians
		each gov-	14 years.
		erns a	
		part with	
		equal au-	
		thority.	

**3327 667 Psammi-**

**3334 670** ticus, one of the 12 kings, defeats the other 11, and remains sole master of Egypt. He takes Azoth after a siege of 29 years.

**Asar-haddon unites the empire of Babylon with that of Nineveh.**

**Death of Gyges.** Ardys his son succeeds him. In his reign, of 49 years, the Cimmerians made themselves masters of Sardis.

**Asar-**  
**haddon**  
carries  
the re-  
mains of  
the king-  
dom of  
Israel in-  
to Assy-  
ria. The  
same year  
he puts  
**Manas-**  
**seh** in  
chains, &  
carries  
him into  
Babylon.

## BAB. NINEVEH.

Saosduchin, or Nabucodonosor I. The Death  
12th year of his reign of Dejo-  
he defeats Phraortes. ces.

3335 669

**2347 657**

A.M. A.C.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	BAB. NIN.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.
			king of the Medes, and takes Ecbatana. It was after this ex- pedition that he made Holephernes besiege Bethulia. Death of Nabuco- donosor. Saracus, called also Chyna- ladanus, succeeded him.	Phraor- tes suc- ceeds him.	
3356 648					
3364 640					
3869 635					
3373 631		Tyrteus, a poet who ex- celled in celebrat- ing mili- tary vir- tue.	Nabopolassar's revolt against Saracus. He makes himself mas- ter of Babylon.	Phraor- tes peri- shes at the siege of Nine- veh, with part of his army.	Sadyat- tes. He forms the siege of Miletus in the 16th year of his reign.
3378 629		Thales, of Mile- tus, foun- der of the Ionic sect.		Cyaxares his son succeeds him. The second year of his reign he beats the As- syrians, and at- tacks Ni- neveh, the siege of which he is o- bliged to abandon by a sud- den ir- ruption of the Scythians into his do- minions.	
3380 624					
2385 619					
3388 616	Nechao.	Draco, legislator of Athens.	Destruction of Ni- neveh. From thence- forth Babylon was the capital of the Assyrian empire.	Cyaxares joins his forces with those of Nabopo- lassar,	Alyattes. He conti- nues the siege of Miletus, which had been carried on six years by
3397 607	The 7th year of his reign he de- feats the king of Assyria and seizes		BABYLON. Nabopolassar as- sociates his son Na- bucodonosor in the empire, and sends	takes Ni- neveh, and puts Saracus	

A.M.	A.C.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.
		part of his dominions. He reigned 16 years.		him at the head of an army to reconquer the countries taken from him by Nechao.	its king to death.	his father, and puts an end to it six years after, by concluding a peace with the besieged. In the same prince's reign there was a war between the Medes and Lydians, which was terminated by the marriage of Cyaxares with Aryenis the daughter of Alyattes.
3398	606			Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor. —He transports a great number of Jews to Babylon, and among them the prophet Daniel. The captivity begins from his carrying away the Jews to Baylon.		
3399	605			Death of Nabopolassar. His son Nabucodonosor II. succeeds him in all his dominions.		
3400	604		Solon. The seven sages of Greece lived about this time.			
3403	601		Alcæus, from whom the Alcaic verses take their name.	Nabucodonosor's first dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3404	600	Psamis six years.	Sappho, at the same time.		Astyages, the son of Cyaxares gives his daughter in marriage to Cambyses king of Persia.	
3405	599			Nabucodonosor's lieutenants, after having ravaged Judea, blockade Jerusalem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the same year, Nabucodonosor repairs in person to Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and appoints Zedekiah king instead of Jehoiakim, whom he carries into captivity.	Birth of Cyrus. Death of Cyaxares. Astyages his son succeeds him. He reigns 35 years.	
3409	595	Apries. He makes himself master of Sidon, in the first year of his reign.				
3410	594					
3411	593	Zedekiah king of Judah, makes an alliance with the king of Egypt,				
3416	588			Nabucodonosor destroys Jerusalem,	Cyrus goes for	

**A.M. A.C. EGYPT. GREECE. BABYLON. MEDIA. LYDIA.**

	contrary to the advice of Jeremiah.		and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his return into his dominions, he causes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.	the first time into Media, to see his grand-father Astyages. He remains 3 years with him.	
3430	574	Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Lybia.			
		Amasis revolts against Apries.			
3432	572	Nabucodonosor subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis in the throne.	Nabucodonosor makes himself master of Tyre, after a siege of 13 years. He did not march against Egypt till after this expedition.		
3434	570		Nabucodonosor's second dream interpreted by Daniel.		
3435	569	Apries	Nabucodonosor		
3440	564	dies in the 25th year of his reign.	reduced to the condition of beasts, during seven years; after which he reigns again one year.		
		Amasis reigns after him in peace,	Evil-Merodach, his son, succeeds him. He reigns only two years.		
3542	562				Croesus.
3444	560	Simonides, the celebrated poet.	Neriglissor. He makes great preparations for war against the Medes, and calls in Croesus to his aid.	Death of Astyages. Cyaxares succeeds him ; known in the scripture under the name of Darius the Mede.	Æsop lived in his reign, and was in his court at the same time with Solon.
3445	559	Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens,		Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his	

A.M.	A.C.	EGYPT.	GREECE.	BABYLON.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.
					uncle in the war with the Babylonians.	
3447	557				Expedition of Cyrus against the king of Armenia.	
3448	556			Laborosoarchod. He reigns only nine months.	Cyaxares and Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battle, in which Neriglissor is slain.	Croesus flies before Cyrus.
3449	555			Labynit, called in scripture Belshazzar.	About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated.	Battle of Thymbria between Croesus and Cyrus, followed with the taking of Sardis by the latter,
3456	548		Hippodamias, author of the verse Scazon.			
3460	544		Heraclitus, chief of the sect which bears his name.			
3464	540		Birth of Æschylus.	Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon. The death of that prince puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with that of the Medes.	Cyrus makes himself master of Babylon.	End of the kingdom of Lydia.
3466	537		Ctesiphon or Chersiphron, a celebrated architect, famous especially for building the temple of Diana of Ephesus.		Death of Cyaxares,	

A.M. A.C. EGYPT. GREECE. EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS.

*After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded both in their dominions, united the empire of the Medes with those of the Babylonians and Persians; and of the three formed a fourth, under the name of the empire of the Persians, which subsisted 206 years.*

EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS.

3468 536

Cyrus. The first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judea.

3470 534

Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia.

3475 529

3478 526

3479 525

Psamme-  
nitus. He  
reigns  
only six  
months.  
After the  
death of

Death of  
Pisistra-  
tus. Hip-  
pias his  
son suc-  
ceeds  
him.

Cyrus dies on a tour which he makes into Persia, after his having reigned seven years alone, and 30 from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares.

Cambyses his son succeeds him. The fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and re-unites it to the kingdom of the Persians.

3480 524

that  
prince

Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyses against the Ethiopians.

3481 523

Egypt is  
annexed  
to the  
Persian  
domin-  
ions, and  
continues  
so till the  
reign of  
Alexan-  
der the  
Great,

Cambyses puts Merœ, who was both his sister and wife, to death.

It was about this time that Oretes, one of the satrapæ of Cambyses made himself master of the island of Samos, and caused Polycrates the tyrant of it to be put to death.

3482 522

Great,  
which in-  
cludes the  
space of  
206  
years.

Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the Magus, who had mounted the throne before the death of Cambyses, succeeds him. He reigns only seven months.

3483 521

Darius, son of Hystaspes.

3485 519

Great,  
which in-  
cludes the  
space of  
206  
years.

Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, wherein that of Cyrus is repealed. It is believed that what is related in the history of Esther happened some time after the publication of this edict.

3488 516

Babylon revolts against Darius, and is taken after a siege of 20 months.

3490 514

Miltia-  
des goes  
to settle  
in the  
Cherson-  
esus.

Expedition of Darius against the Scythians.

3496 508

The Pi-  
sistratidæ  
are oblig-

Darius penetrates into India, and reduces all that great country into subjection.



**A.M. A.C. EGYPT. GREECE. EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS.**  
 ed to a-  
 bandon  
 Attica.

*The history of the Greeks from henceforth will be intermixed and almost confounded with that of the Persians ; for which reason I shall separate their chronology no further.*

**PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.**

- 3501 503 The Persians from the siege of the capital of the island of Naxos, and are obliged to raise it in six months.
- 3502 502 Aristagoras, governor of Miletus, revolts from Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians into his measures.
- 3504 500 The Ionians make themselves masters of Sardis, and burn it.
- 3507 497 The Persians defeat the Ionians in a sea-fight before the island of Lados, and make themselves masters of Miletus.  
*Æschylus.*
- 3510 494 Darius sends Gobrias his son in law at the head of an army to attack Greece.  
*Anacreon.*
- 3513 491 Darius takes the command of his armies from Gobrias, and gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.
- 3514 490 Battle of Marathon.
- 3515 489 Unfortunate end of Miltiades.
- 3519 485 Death of Darius Hystaspes. Xerxes his son succeeds him.
- 3520 484 Birth of the historian Herodotus.
- 3524 480 Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks.  
 Battle of Thermopylæ. Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, is killed in it. Sea-fight near Artemisium, at the same time as the battle of Thermopylæ.  
 Birth of Euripides.  
 Battle of Salamin, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.
- 3525 479 Battle of Plataea. Sea-fight the same day near Mycale, in which the Persians are defeated.
- 3526 478 The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, which had been demolished by Xerxes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lacedæmonians.
- 3528 476 The command of the armies of Greece, of which the Lacedæmonians had been in possession from the battle of Thermopylæ, is transferred to the Athenians.  
*Pindar flourished about this time.*
- 3530 474 Pausanias, general of the Lacedæmonians, accused of holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.
- 3531 473 Themistocles, the Athenian general, is accused of having had a share in Pausanias's plot, and takes refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians.  
*Sophocles and Euripides appear in Greece about this time.*
- 3532 472 Xerxes is killed by Artabanes, the captain of his guards.  
 Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.

A.M. A.C.

PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

- 3533 471 Cimon receives the command of the armies at Athens.  
The year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the mouth of the river Eurymedon.  
Birth of the historian Thucydides.
- 3534 470 Great earthquake at Sparta, in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a sedition of the helots.  
Birth of Socrates.
- 3535 469 Beginning of Pericles.  
Phidias, famous for his skill in architecture and sculpture.  
Difference and misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, occasioned by the affront offered to the Athenians by the Lacedæmonians, in sending back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and helots. Some time after, and in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the ostracism.
- 3537 467 Esdras obtains a commission from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem, with all who were willing to follow him.
- 3538 466 Themistocles puts an end to his life at Magnesia.
- 3540 464 Herodicus of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians called *Διαίτηται*. Hippocrates was his disciple.
- 3544 460 The Egyptians, supported by the Athenians, revolt against Artaxerxes.
- 3545 459 Defeat of the Persian army in Egypt.
- 3548 456 The Egyptians and Athenians are beaten in their turn; in consequence of which all Egypt returns to its obedience to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Danarus, where they sustain a siege of a year.  
Battle of Tanagra in Beotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans who were come to the aid of the Beotians.
- 3550 454 Nehemiah obtains Artaxerxes's permission to return to Jerusalem.
- 3554 450 Birth of Xenophon.  
Cimon, recalled from banishment after five years absence, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, and makes them conclude a truce of five years.
- 3555 449 End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, 51 years.  
Death of Cimon.
- 3558 446 The Lacedæmonians conclude a truce of 30 years with the Athenians. The latter soon break it by new enterprises.  
Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher.  
Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.
- 3564 440 Pericles makes war with the Samians, and takes the capital of their island after a siege of nine months.  
Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus.  
Parrhasius, his rival lived at the same time.  
Aristophanes, the comic poet.
- 3568 436 Birth of Isocrates.  
War between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra. The Athenians engage in it in favour of the Corcyreans. The inhabitants of Potidæa declare on the side of Corinth against

## A.M. A.C.

## PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponnesus.

Scopas, architect and sculptor.

3573 431 Beginning of the Peloponnesian war. It subsists 27 years.

3574 430 A terrible plague rages in Attica. The physician Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his extraordinary care of the sick.

3575 429 Death of Pericles.

3576 428 The Lacedæmonians besiege Platæa.

Plato, founder of the ancient academy.

3579 425 Death of Artaxerxes. Xerxes his son succeeds him. He reigns only 45 days.

Sogdianus puts Xerxes to death and causes himself to be acknowledged king in his stead. He reigns only six months.

3580 424 Ochus, known under the name of Darius Nothus, rids himself of Sogdianus, and succeeds him.

The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.

Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for having suffered Amphipolis to be taken.

Polygnotus, famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Παιλαια, at Athens, in which he represented the principal events of the Trojan war.

3583 421 Treaty of peace concluded, by the application of Nicias, between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedæmonian war. Alcibiades, by an imposture, occasions its being broken the following year.

3584 420 The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the ostracism.

3588 416 Alcibiades engages the Athenians to assist the people of Egus-ta against the Syracusans.

3589 415 Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians, is recalled to Athens to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.

3590 414 Pisutlines, governor of Syria, revolts against Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and choose Amyrtæus for their king, who reigns six years.

3593 411 Alcibiades, to avoid the envy his great actions had drawn upon him at Sparta, throws himself into the arms of Tissaphernes, one of the king of Persia's satraps. The Lacedæmonians by the help of Tissaphernes, concludes a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.

3595 409 Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return occasions the abolition of the Four Hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority.

3597 407 Darius gives Cyrus, his youngest son, the government in chief of all the provinces of Asia Minor.

3598 406 Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacedæmonians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat, Alcibiades is deposed, and 10 generals are nominated to succeed him.

3599 405 Callicratidas has the command of the army in the room of Lysander, from whom the Lacedæmonians had taken it. He is killed in a sea-fight near the Argunisæ.

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- 3599 405 Lysander is restored to the command of the Lacedæmonian army. He gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos.  
Conon, who commanded the Athenian forces, retires, after his defeat to Evagoras king of Cyprus.
- 3600 404 Lysander makes himself master of Athens, changes the form of the government, and establishes 30 archons, commonly called the Thirty Tyrants.  
End of the Peloponnesian war.  
Death of Darius Nothus. Arsaces his son succeeds him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.  
Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes. His design being discovered, he is sent to the maritime provinces, of which he was governor.
- 3601 403 Interview of Cyrus the younger and Lysander at Sardis.  
Thrasylbulus expels the tyrants of Athens, and re-establishes its liberty.
- 3602 402 Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his brother Artaxerxes.
- 3603 401 Defeat and death of Cyrus the younger at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the 10,000.  
Death of Socrates.
- 3604 400 Lacedæmon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.
- 3606 398 Beginning of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip.
- 3607 397 Agesilaus is elected king of Sparta. The year following he goes to Attica, to the aid of the Greeks settled there.
- 3609 395 Lysander quarrels with Agesilaus, and undertakes to change the order of the succession to the throne.  
The army of Tissaphernes is defeated near Sardis by Agesilaus.
- 3610 394 Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, enter into a league against Lacedæmon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens enters into the same league soon after. Agesilaus is recalled by the ephori to the assistance of his country.  
The fleet of the Lacedæmonians is defeated near Cnidos by Pharnabazus, and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agesilaus defeats the Thebans almost at the same time, in the plains of Coronæa.  
Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.
- 3617 387 Peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded with the Persians by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian.
- 3618 386 Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, with all his forces, and gains a signal victory over him.  
It is followed by the siege of Salamina, which is terminated by a treaty of peace.
- 3620 384 Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians.  
Birth of Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetics.
- 3621 383 The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus.  
Birth of Philip, king of Macedon.
- 3622 382 Phæbidas, on his way to the siege of Olynthus, at the head of part of the army of the Lacedæmonians, makes himself master of the citadel of Thebes.

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- 3622 382 Birth of Demosthenes.
- 3626 378 Pelopidas, at the head of the rest of the exiles, kills the tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.
- 3627 377 Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce Egypt, which had thrown off his yoke for some years. He employs above two years in making preparations for that war.
- 3629 375 Death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia. Alexander his eldest son succeeds him. He reigns only two years. Perdiccas ascends the throne next, and reigns 14 years.
- 3630 374 Death of Evagoras, king of Cyprus. Nicocles his son succeeds him.
- 3634 370 Battle of Leuctra, in which the Thebans, under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacedæmonians.
- 3635 369 Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander, tyrant of Phæræ. He goes to Macedonia, to terminate the differences between Perdiccas and Ptolemy, sons of Amyntas, concerning the crown. He carries Philip with him to Thebes as an hostage. He is killed in a battle which he fights with the tyrant of Phæræ.
- 3641 363 Battle of Mantinæa. Epaminondas is killed in it, after having secured the victory to the Thebans.
- 3642 362 The Lacedæmonians send Agesilaus to aid Tachos king of Egypt against Artaxerxes. He dethrones Tachos and gives the crown to Nectanebus. He dies on his return from that expedition.
- Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Ochus his son succeeds him.
- 3644 360 Philip ascends the throne of Macedonia. He makes a capitious peace with the Athenians.
- The history of the Cappadocians begins at this time, the chronology of whose kings I shall give after that of Alexander's successors. I shall annex it to that of the Parthians, and of the kings of Pontus.*
- 3646 358 War of the allies with the Athenians. It continued 3 years. Philip besieges and takes Amphipolis.
- 3648 356 Revolt of Artabasis against Ochus king of Persia. Birth of Alexander the Great.
- 3649 355 Demosthenes appears in public for the first time, and encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of war making by the king of Persia.
- Beginning of the sacred war.
- 3650 354 Death of Mausolus, king of Caria.
- 3651 353 Philip makes himself master of the city of Methone.
- 3652 352 Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, to whom she had succeeded, takes Rhodes.
- Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ in vain.
- 3653 351 Successful expedition of Ochus against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and afterwards Egypt.
- 3654 350 Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, is obliged to fly into Ethiopia; from whence he never returns.
- 3656 348 Death of Plato.
- Philip makes himself master of Olynthus.
- 3658 346 Philip seizes Thermopylæ and part of Phocis. He causes himself to be admitted into the number of the amphictyons.

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- 3662 342 Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonesus, in favour of Diopithus.
- 3665 339 The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium, besieged by Philip. That prince is obliged to raise the siege.
- 3666 338 Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the council of the amphictyons. He makes himself master of Elatæa.  
Battle of Chæronea, wherein Philip defeats the Athenians and the Thebans, who had entered into a league against him.  
Ochus, king of Persia, is poisoned by Bagoas, his favourite, Arses his son succeeds him, and reigns only 3 years.
- 3667 337 Philip causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.
- 3668 336 Philip's death. Alexander his son, then 20 years of age, succeeds him.  
Arses, king of Persia, is assassinated by Bagoas. Darius Codomanus succeeds him.
- 3669 335 Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians in a diet assembled at Corinth.
- 3670 334 Alexander sets out for Persia.  
Battle of the Granicus, followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor.
- 3671 333 Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, from having bathed in the river Cydnus. He is cured in a few days.  
Battle of Issus.
- 3672 332 Alexander makes himself master of Tyre, after a seige of 7 months.  
Apelles, one of the most famous painters of antiquity. Aristides and Protogenes were his contemporaries.  
Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. He went after this conquest to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, and at his return built the city of Alexandria.
- 3673 331 Battle of Arbela. It is followed with the taking of Arbela, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis.
- 3674 330 Darius is seized and laden with chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian empire, which had subsisted 206 years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great.  
The Lacedæmonians revolt against the Macedonians. Antipater defeats them in a battle, wherein Agis their king is killed.  
Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, comes to see Alexander at Zadracrata.  
Philotas, and Parmenio his father, suspected of having conspired with others against Alexander, are put to death.
- 3675 329 Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death.  
Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city upon the Iaxartes, to which he gives his name.

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- 3675 329 Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory gained by him over that people.  
Lysippus of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about this time.
- 3676 328 Alexander makes himself master of the rocky eminence of Oxus. Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast in Maracanda. The death of Callisthenes happens soon after.  
Alexander marries Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes.
- 3677 327 Alexander's entrance into India. He gains a great victory over Porus in passing the Hydaspes.
- 3678 326 On the remonstrances of his army, Alexander determines to march back.  
The city of Oxydrace taken. Alexander is in great danger there.
- 3679 325 Alexander's marriage with Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius.  
Revolt of Harpalus, whom Alexander had made governor of Babylon.  
Demosthenes is banished for having received presents, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus.
- 3680 324 Death of Hephestion at Ecbatana.  
Menander, the inventor of the new comedy, lived about this time.
- 3681 323 Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of 32 years and 8 months. Aridæus, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas.  
The generals divide the provinces amongst themselves. From this division commences the era of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt.  
The Athenians revolt, and engage the states of Greece to enter into a league with them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.
- 3682 322 Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and is forced to surrender it by capitulation. He soon after seizes Athens.  
Death of Demosthenes.
- 3683 321 Alexander's magnificent funeral.  
Perdiccas puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia.  
League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes.  
Death of Craterus.  
Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt. Antipater succeeds him in the regency of the empire.
- 3684 320 Eumenes defeated by Antigonus; shuts himself up in the castle of Nora, where he sustains a siege of a year.  
Ptolemy makes himself master of Jerusalem.
- 3685 319 Death of Antipater. Polysperchon succeeds him.  
Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens.  
Cassander, the son of Antipater, seizes Athens, and settles Demetrius Phalereus there to govern the republic.
- 3687 317 Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Aridæus and Eurydice his wife to be put to death, as she herself is soon after by order of Cassander.

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3689 315 Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death.

3691 313 Antigonus takes Tyre, after a siege of 15 months. Demetrius his son, surnamed Poliocreates, begins to appear.

3692 312 Zeno institutes the sect of the Stoics at Athens.

3693 311 Seleucus makes himself master of Babylon and the neighbouring provinces.

At this expedition of Seleucus against Babylon, begins the famous era of the Seleucides, called by the Jews the era of contracts.

Ptolemy retires into Egypt, and carries a great number of the inhabitants of Phœnicia and Judea thither along with him.

Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexander to be put to death.

3695 309 Polysperchon puts Hercules, the son of Alexander, and his mother Berenice, to death.

3696 308 Ophellas, governor of Libya, revolts against Ptolemy.

3698 306 Demetrius Poliocreates makes himself master of Athens, and re-establishes the democratical government. The same year he makes himself master of Salamin, and the whole island of Cyprus.

Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded at Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians throw down his statues, and condemn him to death.

Antigonus and his son Demetrius assume the title of kings. The other princes follow their example, and do the same.

3699 305 Antigonus, to make the most of his son's victory in Cyprus, undertakes to deprive Ptolemy of Egypt. That expedition does not succeed.

Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt, on the 7th of November of this year.

3700 304 Demetrius Poliocreates forms the siege of Rhodes, which he is forced to raise a year after.

3701 303 The Rhodians employ the money raised by the sale of the machines which Demetrius had used in the siege of their city, and had given them as a present, in erecting the famous colossus, called the colossus of Rhodes.

Demetrius Poliocreates is declared general of all the Greeks by the states of Greece assembled at the Isthmus.

3702 302 Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, enter into a league against Antigonus, and Demetrius his son.

Battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus is defeated. It is followed by the division of the empire of Alexander amongst the four allied princes.

Argesilaus, founder of the middle academy.

*There is so much connection between the events which happen in the four empires formed out of Alexander's, that it is impossible to separate them; for which reason I shall dispose them all in one column, according to the plan I have followed in treating them in the body of my history. I shall first give a table that contains only the kings that reigned in each of those kingdoms.*



A.M. A.C.	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDONIA.	THRACE AND BITHYNIA.
3704 300	Ptolemy So-	Seleucus Ni-	Cassander.	Lysimachus.
3707 297	ter.	cator.	Philip and Alexander, the sons of Cassan- der, dispute the kingdom, and possess it al- most three years.	
3710 294			Demetrius	
3717 287			Poliorecetes.	
3719 285	Ptolemy Phi-		Pyrrhus and	
3723 281	ladelphus.		Lysimachus.	
			Seleucus Ni-	Lysimachus
			cator a very	is killed in a
			short time.	battle. After
				his death his
				dominions are
				dismembered,
				and cease to
				form a distinct
				kingdom.
	EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDONIA.	
3724 280		Antiochus Soter.	Ptolemy Ceraun-	
			us. His brother	
			Meleager reigned	
			some time after	
			him.	
3726 278			Sosthenes.	
3728 276			Antigonus Gona-	
3743 261		Antiochus Theos.	tus.	
3758 246	Ptolemy Ever-	Seleucus Calinicus.		
	getes.			
3762 242			Demetrius, son of	
			Antigonus Gonatus.	
			Antigonus Doson.	
3772 232		Seleucus Ceraunus.		
3778 226		Antiochus the		
3781 223		Great.		
3783 221	Ptolemy Philopa-			
3784 220	ter.			
3800 204	Ptolemy Epiph-			
3817 187	anes.	Seleucus Philopater.		Philip.
3824 180	Ptolemy Philome-			
3825 179	ter.			
			Perseus, the last	
			king of the Macedo-	
			nians.	

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3829 175		Antiochus Epiphanes.
3840 164		Antiochus Eupater.
3842 162		Demetrius Soter.
3854 150		Alexander Bala.
3895 145	Ptolemy Physcon.	Demetrius Nicator.
3860 144		Antiochus Theos, the son of Bala, seizes part of Syria.—Tryphon does the same soon after.
3864 140		Antiochus Sidetes puts Tryphon to death, and reigns in his room.
3877 127		Zebina succeeds Demetrius Nicator.
3880 124		Seleucus the son of Nicator.
3887 117	Ptolemy Lathyrus.	Antiochus Grypus.
3890 114		Antiochus the Cyzicenean divides the kingdom with Grypus.
3897 107	Alexander I. brother of Lathyrus.	
3907 97		Seleucus, son of Grypus.
3911 93		Antiochus Eusebes.
3912 92		Antiochus, the second son of Grypus.
3913 91		Philip, third son of Grypus.
3914 90		Demetrius Eucharès, fourth son of Grypus.
3919 85		Antiochus Dionysius, fifth son of Grypus.
		The four last named kings, reigned successively with Eusebes.
3941 83.		Tigranes, during 14 years.
3929 81	Alexander II. son of Alexander I.	
3935 69		Antiochus Asiaticus.
3939 65	Ptolemy Auletes.	
3946 58	Berenice, the eldest daughter of Auletes, reigns some time in his stead ; after which that prince is restored.	
3953 51	Cleopatra reigns at first with her eldest brother, then with Ptolemy her youngest brother, and at last alone.	

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3604 300	Seleucus, king of Syria, builds Antioch.
	Athens refuses to receive Demetrius Poliorcetes.
3707 297	Death of Cassander, king of Macedon. Philip his son succeeds him. He reigns only one year, and is succeeded by

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Alexander his brother. About this time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, espouses Antigone, of the house of Ptolemy, and returns into his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Molossi.

3709 295 Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lysimachus and Ptolemy, almost at the same time, deprive him of all he possessed.

3710 294 Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, who called him in to his aid, and seizes his dominions, where he reigns seven years.

3711 293 Foundation of the city of Seleucia by Seleucus.

3717 287 Pyrrhus and Lysimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius. The latter dies miserably the year following in prison.

3719 285 Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, resigns the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Foundation of the kingdom of Pergamus by Philiterus.

3721 283 Demetrius Phalereus is shut up in a fort by order of Philadelphus, and kills himself there.

3722 282 Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against Lysimachus, king of Macedonia.

3723 281 Lysimachus is killed in a battle in Phrygia. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take possession of the kingdom. He is assassinated there by Ceraunus. Antiochus Soter, his son, succeeds him in the kingdom of Syria.

3724 280 Ceraunus, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to himself, puts the two children of Lysimachus by Arsinoe to death, and banishes her into Samothracia.

The republic of the Achæans resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy to make war against the Romans. He gives them battle for the first time near Heraclea, where the advantage is entirely on his side. He is again successful in a second battle fought the year following.

3725 279 Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ceraunus gives them battle, in which he is killed. Meleager his brother succeeds him.

3726 278 Pyrrhus abandons Italy, and goes to Sicily, which he conquers.

Sosthenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia. He is made king there, and reigns two years.

Attempt of the Gauls upon the temple of Delphos.

3727 277 Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, causes the holy scriptures to be translated into Greek.

3728 276 Death of Sosthenes. Antigonus Gonatus, son of Poliorcetes, who reigned afterwards during 10 years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia in his room. Antiochus, king of Syria, disputes the possession of it with him. Their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.

3729 275 Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppressions. By this victory he acquires the name of Soter.

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- 3730 274 Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, where he attacks and defeats Antigonus. Ptolemy Philadelphus, in effect of the reputation of the Romans, sends an embassy to them to demand their amity.
- 3732 272 Pyrrhus undertakes the siege of Sparta, and cannot reduce it. He is killed the next year at the siege of Argos.
- 3736 268 Antigonus Gonatus makes himself master of Athens, which had entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians against him.
- 3739 265 Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyone, after having put Clinias its governor to death. Magus, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus.
- 3741 263 Death of Philiterrus, king and founder of Pargamus. Eumenes his nephew succeeds him.
- 3743 261 Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, causes his son Antiochus to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after. Berosus of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.
- 3746 258 Accommodation between Magus and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
- 3749 255 War between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philadelphus.
- 3752 252 Aratus, the son of Clinias, delivers Sicyone from tyranny, and unites it with the Achæan league.
- 3754 250 Arsaces revolts against Agathocles, governor for Antiochus in the country of the Parthians. About the same time Theodorus, governor of Bactriana, revolts, and causes himself to be declared king of that province.
- 3755 249 Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, which puts an end to the war. By one of the conditions of that treaty, Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Berenice, Ptolemy's daughter.
- 3756 248 Agis, king of Sparta, endeavours to revive the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. Leonidas his colleague is deposed for refusing to consent to it. Cleombrotus, his son-in-law, reigns in his stead.
- 3757 247 Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Evergetes, his son, succeeds him. Apollonius of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the expedition of the Argonauts.
- 3758 246 Antiochus, surnamed Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice. She afterwards causes her son Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king. Berenice, and her son by Antiochus, are assassinated by Laodice. Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, undertakes to revenge her death. He makes himself master of great part of Syria.
- 3760 244 The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia enter into an alliance to aid the king of Syria against Ptolemy Evergetes. Aratus makes himself master of the citadel of Corinth. Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.
- 3762 242 Death of Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia. Demetrius his son succeeds him. Seleucus, king of Syria, enters into a war with Antiochus Hi-

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- erax his brother. The latter has the advantage in a battle near Ancyra in Galatia.
- 3763 241 Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus, his cousin-german, succeeds him.
- 3765 239 Eratosthenes, the Syrenian, is made librarian to Ptolemy Evergetes.
- 3771 233 Joseph, nephew of the high-priest Onias, is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Evergetes.
- 3772 232 Death of Demetrius, king of Macedonia. Antigonus, guardian of Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeds him.  
Polyclethus of Sicyone, a famous sculptor.
- 3774 230 Seleucus, king of Syria, is defeated, and taken prisoner by Arsaces, king of the Parthians.
- 3776 228 Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains a great victory over the Achæans and Aratus.
- 3778 226 Seleucus Gallinicus, king of Syria, dies amongst the Parthians of a fall from an horse. Seleucus Ceraunus, his eldest son, succeeds him.  
Antiochus Hierax is assassinated by thieves on leaving Egypt.  
Aratus defeats Aristippus, tyrant of Argos. He prevails upon Lysiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and make his city enter into the Achæan league.
- 3779 225 The Romans send a famous embassy into Greece, to impart to the Greeks the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. The Corinthians declare by a public decree that they shall be admitted to share in the celebration of the Isthmian games. The Athenians also grant them the freedom of Athens.  
Antigonus, king of Macedonia, by the management of Aratus, is called in to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians.
- 3781 223 Cleomenes, king of Sparta, takes Megalopolis.  
Battle of Selasia, followed with the taking of Sparta by Antigonus.
- 3781 223 Death of Seleucus Ceraunus, king of Syria. Antiochus his brother, surnamed the Great, succeeds him.
- 3782 222 The colossus of Rhodes is thrown down by a great earthquake.
- 3783 221 Death of Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philopater succeeds him.  
The Ætolians gain a great victory at Caphyæ over the Achæans.
- 3784 220 Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who had revolted against him two years before, the first in Media, the second in Persia.  
Death of Antigonus, king of Macedonia. Philip, the son of Demetrius succeeds him.  
Cleomenes, king of Sparta, dies in Egypt. The Lacedæmonians elect Agesipolis and Lycurgus to succeed him.  
War of the allies with the Ætolians in favour of the Achæans.
- 3785 219 Hermias, prime minister of Antiochus, is put to death by the prince's orders.
- 3787 217 Battle of Raphia, between Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Antiochus king of Syria.  
Treaty of peace between Philip king of Macedonia, and the

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Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which puts an end to the war of the allies.

- 3788 216 Antiochus besieges Achæus, who had revolted in Sardis, and after a siege of two years he is delivered up by the treachery of a Cretan.

Hannibal's alliance with Philip king of Macedonia.

- 3789 215 Philip receives a considerable blow from the Romans at the siege of Apollonia.

- 3790 214 Carneades, founder of the new academy.

- 3792 212 Antiochus undertakes to reduce the provinces which had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire, and effects it in the space of seven years.

- 3793 211 Alliance of the Ætolians with the Romans. Attalus, king of Pergamus, enters into it. The Lacedæmonians come into it some time after.

- 3796 208 Famous battle between Philip king of Macedonia and the Ætolians near Elis. Philopœmen distinguishes himself in it.

- 3798 206 Battle of Mantinæa, wherein Philopœmen defeats Machinidas, tyrant of Sparta, who perishes in it. Nabis is set in his place.

- 3800 204 Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies on both sides are included in it.

Polybius is said to have been born this year.

Death of Ptolemy Philopater, king of Egypt.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, at that time only five years old, succeeds him.

- 3801 203 League between Philip of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, against the young king of Egypt.

- 3802 202 Philip, king of Macedonia, is defeated by the Rhodians in a sea-fight off the island of Chio. That prince's cruel treatment of the Cyaneans seems to be properly dated the following year.

- 3803 201 Philip besieges and takes Abydos.

- 3804 200 The Romans declare war with Philip. P. Sulpitius is appointed to command in it. He gains a considerable victory near the town of Octolopha in Macedonia.

- 3805 199 Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip. The year following Flaminius is sent to succeed Villicus.

- 3806 198 Antiochus, king of Syria, subjects Palestine and Cœlosyria.

The Achæans declare for the Romans against Philip.

- 3807 197 Interview of Philip and the consul Flaminius.

Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, declares for the Romans. The Beotians do the same.

Death of Attalus, king of Pergamus. Eumenes succeeds him.

Battle of Cynoscephale, where the Romans gain a complete victory over Philip.

- 3808 196 Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war.

Embassy of the Romans to Antiochus the Great, in order to be assured whether the complaints against him were justly founded.

Conspiracy of Scopas, the Ætolian, against Ptolemy Epiphanes, discovered and punished.

- 3809 195 Flaminius makes war against Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta.

A.M. A.C.

## ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

- 3813 191 Philopomen gains a considerable advantage over Nabis, near Sparta.  
 The Ætolians resolve to seize Demetrius, Chalcis, and Sparta, by treachery and stratagem.  
 Nabis is killed. Philopomen makes the Lacedæmonians enter into the Achæan league.  
 Antiochus goes to Greece to the aid of the Ætolians.  
 The Romans declare war against him, and soon after defeat him near the straits of Thermopylæ.
- 3814 190 Battle of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace, which puts an end to the war between the Romans and Antiochus, which had subsisted about two years.  
 The philosopher Penætius was born about this time.
- 3815 189 The consul Fulvius forces the Ætolians to submit to the Romans. Manlius, his colleague, almost at the same time subjects all the Gauls in Asia.  
 The cruel treatment of the Spartans by their exiles, supported by Philopomen, happened this year.
- 3817 187 Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed in the temple of Jupiter Belus, which he had entered in order to plunder it. Seleucus Philopater succeeds him.
- 3821 183 Philopomen is taken before Messene by Dinocrates, and put to death.
- 3823 181 Demetrius, son of Philip king of Macedonia, is unjustly accused by his brother Perseus, and put to death.
- 3824 180 Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Ptolemy Philometer succeeds him.
- 3825 179 Death of Philip, king of Macedonia. Perseus his son succeeds him.
- 3829 175 Seleucus Philopater, king of Syria, is poisoned by Heliodorus, whom he had sent a little before to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by Antiochus Epiphanes.
- 3830 174 Antiochus Epiphanes causes Onias the high-priest of Jerusalem to be deposed, and sets Jason in his place.
- 3833 171 War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philometer  
 The Romans declare war against Perseus. That prince has some advantage in the first battle near the river Penens.
- 3834 170 Antiochus Epiphanes makes himself master of all Egypt. He marches afterwards to Jerusalem, where he commits unheard-of cruelties.
- 3835 169 The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometer, who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make Ptolemy Evergetes, his younger brother, king.  
 Philometer is set at liberty the same year, and unites with his brother. That union induces Antiochus to renew the war.
- 3836 168 Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war, against Perseus. He gains a famous victory over that prince near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. It was not reduced, however, into a province of the Roman empire till 20 years after.  
 The prætor Anicius subjects Illyria in 30 days.  
 Popilius, one of the ambassadors sent by the Romans into

A.M. A.C.

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

Egypt, obliges Antiochus to quit it, and come to an accommodation with the two brothers.

Antiochus, exasperated at what had happened in Egypt, turns his rage against the Jews, and sends Apollonius to Jerusalem.

The same year he publishes a decree to oblige all nations in subjection to him, to renounce their own religion, and conform to his. This law occasions a cruel persecution among the Jews.

3837 167 Antiochus goes in person to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the death of Eleazer, happened at that time.

Paulus Æmilius abandons the cities of Epirus to be plundered by his army, for having taken Perseus's part. The Achæans, suspected of having favoured that prince, are sent to Rome to give an account of their conduct. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they are not suffered to return home till 17 years after. Polybius was of this number.

3838 166 Prusias, king of Bithynia, goes to Rome. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, is not permitted to enter it.

Death of Mattathias. Judas his son succeeds him, and gains many victories over the generals of Antiochus.

3840 164 Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Elymais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judea, with design to exterminate the Jews. The hand of God strikes him on the way, and he dies with the most exquisite torments. Antiochus Eupator, his son, succeeds him.

3841 163 Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusalem. He is soon after obliged to return into Syria, in order to expel Philip of Antioch, who had made himself master of his capital.

3842 162 Difference between Philometer, king of Egypt, and Physcon his brother, which does not terminate till after the expiration of five years.

Octavius, ambassador for the Romans in Syria, is assassinated.

Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopater, flies from Rome, where he had been kept as an hostage, to Syria, where he causes Antiochus Eupator to be put to death, and seizes the throne.

3843 161 Death of Judas Maccabeus.

3844 160 Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by the Romans.

3845 159 Death of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Attalus Philometer succeeds him.

3848 156 War between Attalus and Prusias.

3851 153 Alexander Bala pretends himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in that quality attempts to cause himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.

3852 152 Andriscus of Adramyttium pretends himself the son of Perseus, and undertakes to cause himself to be declared king of Macedonia. He is conquered, taken, and sent to Rome by Metellus.

3854 150 Demetrius Soter is killed in a battle between him and Alexander Bala. His death leaves the latter in possession of the empire of Syria.

3856 148 Macedonia is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

3857 147 Troubles in Achaia promoted by Diæus and Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither by the Romans are insulted.



A.M. A.C.

## ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

3858 146 Metellus goes into Achaia, where he gains several advantages over the Achæans. Mummius succeeds him; and, after a great battle near Leucopetra, takes Corinth, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province under the name of the province of Achaia.

*The sequel of the history of the kings of Syria is much embroiled: for which reason I shall separate it from that of the Egyptians, in order to complete its chronology.*

## SYRIA.

## EGYPT.

3859 145	Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter, defeats Alexander Bala, and ascends the throne.	Antiochus, surnamed Theos, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, makes himself master of part of the kingdom.	Death of Ptolemy Philometer. Ptolemy Physcon his brother succeeds him.
3860 144		Tryphon gets Jonathan into his hands, and puts him to death at Ptolemais.	
3863 141	Demetrius marches against the Parthians.—After some small advantages he is taken prisoner.	The year following he murders his pupil Antiochus, and seizes the kingdom of Syria.	
3864 140		Antiochus Sidetes, the second son of Demetrius Soter, marries Cleopatra, the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after having put Tryphon to death, he is declared king himself.	Death of Attalus king of Pergamus. Attalus, his nephew, surnamed Philometer, succeeds him. He reigns five years.
3866 138		Antiochus Sidetes besieges Johannes Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and takes the city by capitulation.	The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria oblige most of the inhabitants to quit the place.
3868 136			
3869 135			
3871 183			(Attalus Philometer, king of Pergamus, at his death leaves his dominions to the Roman people. They send Andronicus seizes back Demetrius the year following.
3873 131			
3874 130	Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.		(The consul Perpenna defeats Andronicus, and sends

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SYRIA.

EGYPT.

him to Rome. The kingdom of Pergamus is reduced the year following into a Roman province by Manius Aquilius.)

Physcon repudiates Cleopatra, his first wife, and marries her daughter of the same name. He is soon after obliged to fly, and the Alexandrians give the government to Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated.

Physcon re-ascends the throne of Egypt.

3877 127 Demetrius is killed by Alexander Zebina, who takes his place and causes himself to be acknowledged king of Syria.

3880 124 Seleucus V. eldest son of Demetrius Nicator, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. Antiochus Grypus succeeds him.

Zebina is defeated by Grypus, and dies soon after.

Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to Grypus, king of Syria.

3884 120 Cleopatra attempts to poison Grypus, 3887 117 and is poisoned herself. 3890 114

Antiochus the Cyzicene, son of Cleopatra, and Antiochus Sidetes, take arms against Grypus. He has the worst in the beginning; but in two years obliges his brother to divide the kingdom of Syria with him.

Death of Physcon. Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds him. Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and to marry Selena his youngest.

3891 113

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son.

3897 107

Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places his brother Alexander upon the throne.

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3900 104

## SYRIA.

## EGYPT.

3901 103

3903 101

3907 97 Death of Grypus.

3910 94 Seleucus his son succeeds him. Antiochus the Cy-

3911 93 Seleucus is defeated by Eusebes, and burned in Mopsuestia. zicenian is defeated and put to death. Antiochus Euse-

3912 92 Antiochus, brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus assumes the diadem. He is presently after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the Orontes. bes, the son of the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be declared king. He marries Selena the widow of Grypus.

3913 91 Philip his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.

3914 90 Demetrius Eucharis, fourth son of Grypus, is established

3915 89 king at Damascus, by the aid of Lathyrus. Eusebes, defeated by Philip and Demetrius retires to the Parthians who

3916 88 Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius, the fifth son of Grypus, is set upon the throne, and killed the following year. re-establish him upon the throne two years after.

3919 85 The Syrians, weary of so many changes, choose Tigranes, king of Armenia, for their king. He reigns 14 years by a viceroy.

3921 83 Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.

3922 82 Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels he had before defeated had taken refuge.

3923 81 Death of Lathyrus.

Signal victory of Lathyrus over Alexander, king of the Jews, upon the banks of the Jordan.

Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and takes that city herself.

Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and makes her marry Athiochus the Cyzicenian.

Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.

Alexander is expelled, and dies soon after.

Lathyrus is recalled.

Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the rebels he had before defeated had taken refuge.

Death of Lathyrus.

A.M.A.C.		SYRIA.	EGYPT.
			rus. Alexander II. son of Alexander I. under the protection of Sylla, is elected king.
3928	76		Death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. His kingdom is reduced into a Roman province, as is Cyrenacia the same year.
3935	69	Tigranes recals Magdalu his viceroy in Syria.	Antiochus Asiaticus takes possession of Syria, and reigns 4 years.
3939	65		Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a Roman province.
			Alexander is driven out of Egypt. Ptolemy Auletes, Lathyrus's natural son, is sent in his place.
			EGYPT.
3946	58	The Romans depose Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and seize that island. Cato is charged with that commission.	
3946	58	Ptolemy Auletes is obliged to fly from Egypt. Berenice, the eldest of his daughters, is declared queen in his stead.	
3949	55	Gabinus and Anthony restore Auletes to the entire possession of his dominions.	
3953	51	Death of Ptolemy Auletes. He leaves his dominions to his eldest son and daughter, the famous Cleopatra.	
3956	48	Ponthinus and Achillas, the young king's guardians, deprive Cleopatra of her share in the government, and drive her out of Egypt.	
3957	47	Death of the king of Egypt. Cæsar places Cleopatra upon the throne with Ptolemy her youngest brother.	
3961	43	Cleopatra poisons her brother when he comes of age to share the sovereign authority according to the laws. She afterwards declares for the Roman triumviri.	
3961	41	Cleopatra goes to Anthony at Tarsus in Cilicia. She gains the ascendant of him, and carries him with her to Alexandria.	
3971	33	Anthony makes himself master of Armenia, and brings the king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children.	
		Rupture between Cæsar and Anthony. Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.	
6973	31	Cleopatra flies at the battle of Actium. Antony follows her, and thereby abandons the victory to Cæsar.	
3974	30	Anthony dies in the arms of Cleopatra.	
		Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt is reduced into a Roman province.	
		CAPPADOCIA. PARTHIAN EMPIRE. PONTUS.	
3490	514		The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, in the year

A.M.	A.C.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMP.	PONTUS.
				3490. Artabasu was the first king of it. His successors, down to Mithridates, are little known.
3600	404			Mithridates I. He is commonly considered as the founder of the kingdom of Pontus.
3638	366			Ariobarzanes. He reigns 26 years.
3644	360	Ariarathes I. was		Mithridates II. He reigns 35 years.
3667	337	the first king of Cappadocia. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes.		
3668	336	Ariarathes II. son of the first. He was deprived of his dominions by Perdiccas, who sets Eumenes on the throne.		
3689	315	Ariarathes III. ascends the throne of Cappadocia after the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes.		
3702	302	Ariamnes.		Mithridates III. reigns 36 years. The reigns of the three kings who succeed him, include the space of 100 years. The last of them was Mithridates IV.—great-grand father of Mithridates the Great.
3720	284	Ariarathes IV.	Arsaces I. founder of the Parthian empire.	
3754	250		Arsaces II. brother of the first.	
			Priapatius.	
			Phrates I.	
3814	190	Ariarathes V.		Pharnaces, son of Mithridates I.
3819	185			Mithridates IV.
3840	164			
3842	162	Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopater.	Phraates II.	Mithridates V. surnamed Evergetes.
3873	131	Ariarathes VII.		Mithridates VI. surnamed the Great.
3875	129	Ariarathes VIII.	Artabasu, After a very short reign, he is succeeded by Mithridates II. who reigns 40 years.	
3881	123	Mithridates, king of Pontus, puts him to death, and sets his son upon the throne. Soon after Ariarathes IX. takes Cappadocia from the son of Mithridates, who is presently after re-established by his father,		Mithridates seizes Cappadocia, and makes his son king of it.

A.M. A.C.	CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMP.	PONTUS.
3914 90	Sylla enters Cappadocia, drives the son of Mithridates out of it and sets Ariobarzanes I. upon the throne.		
3915 89	Tigranes, king of Armenia, drives Ariobarzanes out of Cappadocia, and reinstates the son of Mithridates.	Mnaschires, and after him Sinatrocēs. These 2 princes reign about 20 years.	Beginning of the war between Mithridates and the Romans. Mithridates causes all the Romans in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day. Archelaus, one of the generals of Mithridates, seizes Athens and most of the cities in Greece. Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege. Victory of Sylla over the generals of Mithridates near Cheronēa. He gains a second battle soon after at Orchomenos. Treaty of peace between Mithridates and Sylla, which terminates the war. Mithridates puts his son to death. Second war between Mithridates and the Romans. It subsists something less than 3 years. Mithridates makes an alliance with Sertorius. Beginning of the third war of Mithridates against the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are placed at the head of the Roman army. Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and
3917 87			
3918 86			
3920 84			
3921 83			
3926 78	Sylla obliges Mithridates to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. Tigranes dispossesses him of it a second time. After the war with Mithridates, Pompey reinstates Ariobarzanes. His reign, and the very short one of his son, continues down to about the year 3953,		
3928 76			
3929 75			
3930 74			

A.M. A.C.		CAPPADOCIA.	PARTHIAN EMP.	PONTUS.
				forced to shut himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid.
3931	73			Mithridates forms the siege of Cyzicum. Lucullus obliges him to raise it at the end of two years, and pursues and beats him near the Granicus.
3933	74			Mithridates defeated in the plains of Cebiare. He retires to Tigranes.
3934	70			Lucullus declares
3935	69		Phraates III. who assumes the surname of God.	war against Tigranes, and soon after defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia.
3936	68			Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, who had joined their forces near the river Arsamia.
3937	67			Mithridates recovers all his dominions, in effect of the misunderstandings that take place in the Roman army.
3938	66			Pompey is appointed to succeed Lucullus. He gains many advantages over Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.
				Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.
3939	65			Pompey makes himself master of Caina, in which the treasures of Mithridates were laid up.
3848	56		Mithridates, eldest son of Phraates.	
3950	54		Orodes. Unfortunate expedition of Crassus against the Parthians.	Death of Mithridates. Pharnaces his son, whom the army had elected king, submits his person and dominions to the Romans.
3953	51	Ariobarzanes III. He is put to death by Cassius.		
3962	42	Ariarathes X.	Ventidius, gen-	

**A.M.A.C. CAPPADOCIA. PARTHIAN EMPIRE. PONTUS.**

3973 31 M. Antony drives Mithridates out of Cappadocia, gains a victory over the Parthians, and sets Archelaus in his place. On the death of that prince, which happened in the year 4022, B.C., Cappadocia was reduced into a Roman province.

**SYRACUSE.**

Syracuse is said to have been founded in the year of the world 3295; before Christ 709.

**CARTHAGE.**

Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158, before Christ 846.

3501 503 First treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans. It appears that the Carthaginians had carried their arms into Sicily before this treaty, as they were in possession of part of it when it was concluded: but what year they did so is not known.

3520 484 Gelon's beginning. The Carthaginians make an alliance with Xerxes.

3523 481 The Carthaginians, under Amilcar, attack the Greeks settled in Sicily. They are beaten by Gelon.

3532 472 Hiero I. He reigns 11 years.

3543 461 Thrasybulus. In a year's time he is expelled by his subjects.

3544 460 The Syracusans enjoy their liberty during 60 years.

3589 415 The Athenians, assisted by the people of Segesta, undertake the siege of Syracuse under their general Nicias. They are obliged to raise it at the end of 2 years. The Syracusans pursue and defeat them entirely.

3693 411 Beginning of Dionysius the elder. Hannibal and Imilcon are sent to conquer Sicily. They open the campaign with the siege of Agrigentum.

3595 409 Dionysius, after having deposed the ancient magistrates of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new ones, and soon after causes himself to be declared generalissimo.

3600 404 Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius, upon account of the war made by the Carthaginians in Sicily is terminated.



A.M. A.C.

SYRACUSE:

CARTHAGE:

count of the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, by one of the conditions of which Syracuse is to continue in subjection to Dionysius. He establishes the tyranny in his own person.

New troubles at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to put an end to them.

ted by a treaty of peace with the Syracusans.

3605 399

Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians.

3607 397

Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius causes to be signified to them by an herald, whom he dispatched to Carthage.

Imilcon goes to Sicily with an army, to carry on war against Dionysius. It subsists 4 or 5 years.

3615 389

Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation. The next year he breaks the treaty, and makes himself master of it again by force.

3632 372

Death of Dionysius the elder. His son, Dionysius the younger succeeds him. By the advice of Dion, his brother-in-law, he causes Plato to come to his court.

Dion, banished by the order of Dionysius, retires into Peloponnesus.

3643 361

Dionysius makes Arete his sister, the wife of Dion, marry Timocrates, one of his friends. That treatment makes Dion resolve to attack the tyrant by open force.

3644 360

Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse. He sets sail for Italy.

3646 358

Callippus causes Dion to be assassinated, and makes himself master of Syracuse, where he reigns about 13 months.

3647 357

Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, drives Callippus out of Syracuse,

A.M. A.C.	SYRACUSE.	CARTHAGE.
	and establishes himself in his place for two years.	
3654 350	Dionysius reinstated.	Second treaty of peace concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians.
3656 348	The Syracusans call in Timoleon to their aid.	The Carthaginians make a new attempt to seize Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, sent by the Corinthians to the aid of the Syracusans.
3657 347	Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself and to retire to Corinth.	Hanno, citizen of Carthage, forms the design of making himself master of his country.
3658 346	Timoleon abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and throughout Sicily, the liberty of which he reinstates.	Embassy of Tyre to Carthage, to demand aid against Alexander the Great.
3685 319	Agathocles makes himself tyrant at Syracuse.	Beginning of the wars between the Carthaginians and Agathocles in Sicily and Africa.
3724 280	A Roman legion seizes Rhegium by treachery.	The Carthaginians send the Romans aid under Mago against Pyrrhus.
3727 277	Hiero and Artemidorus are made supreme magistrates by the Syracusan troops.	
3729 275	Hiero is declared king by the Syracusans.	
3736 268	Appius Claudius goes to Sicily to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians.	Beginning of the first Punic war with the Romans. It subsists 24 years.
3741 263	Hiero, who was at first against him, comes to an accommodation with him, and makes an alliance with the Romans.	The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, and take the city after a siege of 7 months.
3743 261		Sea-fight between the Romans and Carthaginians, near the coast of Myle.
3745 259		Sea-fight near Ecnome in Sicily.
3749 255		Regulus in Africa. He is taken prisoner.
3750 254		Xanthippus comes to the aid of the Carthaginians.
3655 259		Regulus is sent to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians put him to death with the most cruel torments.
3756 248		Siege of Lilybæum by the Romans.
3763 241	Hiero sends the Carthaginians against the foreign mercenaries.	Defeat of the Carthaginians near the islands Ægates, followed by a treaty that puts

A.M. A.C.

SYRACUSE.

CARTHAGE.

- an end to the first Punic war.  
War of Libya against the foreign mercenaries. It subsists 3 years and 4 months.
- 3767 237 The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and engage to pay them 1200 talents.
- 3776 228 Amilcar is killed in Spain. Asdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeds him in the command of the army.  
Hannibal is sent into Spain upon the demand of his uncle Asdrubal.
- 3784 220 Asdrubal's death. Hannibal is made general of the army in his stead.
- 3786 218 Hiero goes to meet the consul Tib. Sempronius, in order to offer him his services against the Carthaginians. Siege of Saguntum.
- 3787 217 Beginning of the second Punic war, which subsists 17 years.
- 3788 216 Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battles of Ticinus and Trebia.
- Battle of Thrasymenus.  
Hannibal deceives Fabius at the straits of Caasilinum.
- 3789 215 Death of Hiero. Hieronymus his grandson succeeds him. Hieronymus abandons the party of the Romans, and enters into an alliance with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after. His death is followed with great troubles to Syracuse. Cn. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain.
- 3790 214 Battle of Cannæ. Hannibal retires to Capua after this battle.
- 3792 212 Asdrubal is beaten in Spain by the two Scipios.
- Marcellus takes Syracuse, after a siege of 3 years.

## CARTHAGE.

- 3793 211 The two Scipios are killed in Spain.  
The Romans besiege Capua.
- 3794 210 Hannibal advances to Rome, and besieges it. The Romans soon after take Capua.
- 3798 206 Asdrubal enters Italy. He is defeated by the consul Livius, whom the other consul Nero had joined.
- 3790 205 Scipio makes himself master of all Spain. He is made consul the year following, and goes to Africa.
- 3802 202 Hannibal is recalled to the aid of his country.

## A.M. A.C.

## CARTHAGE.

- 3803 201 Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa followed by a bloody battle, in which the Romans gain a complete victory.
- 3804 200 Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punic war.
- Fifty years elapsed between the end of the second and the beginning of the third Punic wars.
- 3810 194 Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage, and reforms the courts of justice and the finances. After having exercised that office two years, he retires to king Antiochus at Ephesus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy.
- 3813 191 Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus.
- 3816 188 Hannibal takes refuge in the island of Crete, to avoid being delivered up to the Romans.
- 3820 184 Hannibal abandons the island of Crete, to take refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia.
- 3822 182 Death of Hannibal.
- 3823 181 The Romans send commissioners into Africa, to adjudge the differences that arose between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.
- 3848 156 Second embassy sent by the Romans into Africa, to adjudge the differences subsisting between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.
- 3855 149 Beginning of the third Punic war. It subsists a little more than 4 years.
- 3856 148 Carthage is besieged by the Romans.
- 3858 146 Scipio the younger is made consul, and receives the command of the army before Carthage.
- 3859 145 Scipio takes and entirely demolishes Carthage.



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CONTAINING

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- Anicius**, Roman prætor, is charged with the war against Gentius king of Illyria, iv. 168; he defeats that prince, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome, 169; he receives the honours of a triumph, 187.
- Antakides**, Lacedæmonian, concludes a shameful peace with the Persians for the Greeks, ii. 293.
- Anthony** (Mark) contributes by his valor to the re-establishment of Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, iv. 414; when triumvir he cites Cleopatra before him, and why, 424; his passion for that princess, 425; her ascendant over him, ib. she carries him with her to Alexandria, 426; Anthony returns to Rome, and marries Octavia, Cæsar's sister, 427; he makes some expeditions into Parthia, ib.; then goes to Phœnicia to meet Cleopatra, 428; his injurious treatment of Octavia, ib.; he makes himself master of Armenia, and returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph, 429; he celebrates there the coronation of Cleopatra and her children, ib.; open rupture between Cæsar and Anthony, 481; the latter repudiates Octavia, ib.; Anthony puts to sea, accompanied by Cleopatra, 432; he is entirely defeated in a sea-fight near Actium, 433; all his troops surrender themselves to Cæsar, ib.; he returns to Alexandria, ib.; he sends ambassadors to treat of peace with Cæsar, 434; seeing himself betrayed by Cleopatra, he sends a challenge to Cæsar to a single combat, 436; believing Cleopatra had killed herself, he falls upon his sword, 437; he expires in Cleopatra's arms, ib.; that princess celebrates his funeral with great magnificence, 438.
- Antigonía**, Philotas's mistress, accuses him to Alexander, iii. 163.
- Antigonía**, the daughter of Ptolemy, wife of Pyrrhus, iii. 327.
- Antigonía**, city built by Antigonus, iii. 322; and destroyed by Seleucus, 325.
- Antigonus**, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest of them, iii. 245; he makes war against Eumenes, and besieges him in Nora, 265; he marches into Pisidia against Alcetas and Attalus, ib.; he becomes very powerful, 268; he revolts against the kings, and continues the war with Eumenes, who adheres to them, 275; he is defeated by that captain, 284; he gets Eumenes into his hands by treachery, 287; and rids himself of him in prison, ib.; a league is formed against him, 289; he takes Syria and Phœnicia from Ptolemy, 290; and makes himself master of Tyre, after a long siege, ib.; he marches against Cassander, and gains great advantages over him, 291; he concludes a treaty with the confederate princes, 296; he puts Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, to death, 298; he forms the design of reinstating the liberty of Greece, 299; he besieges and takes Athens, 300, &c.; excessive honours paid him there, 302; he assumes the title of king, 306; he makes preparations to invade Egypt, 307; his enterprise is unsuccessful, ib.; he loses a great battle at Ipsus, and is killed in it.
- Antigonus Gonatus** offers himself as an hostage for Demetrius his father, iii. 336; he establishes himself in Macedonia, 356; Pyrrhus drives him out of it, 375; he re-

- tires into his maritime cities, *ib.* ; he sends troops to the aid of the Spartans against Pyrrhus, 378 ; he marches to the assistance of Argos, besieged by that prince, 379 ; he takes the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus, and celebrates the funeral of that prince with great magnificence, 380 ; he besieges Athens, and takes it, 383 ; his death, 398.
- Antigonus Doson, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, *iii.* 402 ; the Achæans call him in to their aid against Sparta, 433 ; he occasions their gaining several advantages, 435, &c. ; he is victorious in the famous battle of Selsia against Cleomenes, 440 ; he makes himself master of Sparta, and treats it with great clemency, 442 ; he marches against the Illyrians, and dies after having gained a victory over them, *ib.*
- Antigonus, nephew of Antigonus Doson, Philip's favourite, discovers to that prince the innocence of his son Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, *iv.* 101 ; Philip's intentions in respect to him, 102 ; he is put to death by order of Perseus, 136.
- Antigonus, a Macedonian lord in the court of Perseus, *iv.* 167.
- Antigonus, the brother of Aristobulus I. is appointed by his brother to terminate the war in Iturea, *iv.* 280 ; at his return his brother puts him to death, *ib.*
- Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II. is sent to Rome by Pompey, *iv.* 288 ; he is set upon the throne of Judea, 289 ; he is besieged in Jerusalem, 290 ; he surrenders, and is put to death, 291.
- Antimachus, officer in the army of Perseus, *iv.* 155.
- Antioch, city built by Seleucus upon the Orontes, *iii.* 325.
- Antiochus, lieutenant of Alcibiades, attacks the Lacedæmonians with ill conduct, and is defeated with great loss, *ii.* 217.
- Antiochus I. surnamed Soter, reigns in Syria, and marries Statonice his father's wife, *iii.* 351 ; he endeavours to seize the kingdom of Pergamus, 385 ; he is defeated by Eumenes, *ib.* ; he puts one of his sons to death, and dies himself soon after, *ib.*
- Antiochus II. surnamed Theos, ascends the throne of Syria, *iii.* 385 ; he delivers Miletus from tyranny, *ib.* ; he carries the war into Egypt against him, *ib.* ; he loses most of those provinces, *ib.* ; he makes peace with Ptolemy, and marries Berenice the daughter of that prince, after having repudiated Laodice, *ib.* ; he repudiates Berenice, and takes Laodice again, who causes him to be poisoned, 394 ; Daniel's prophecies concerning him, *ib.*
- Antiochus Hierax commands in Asia Minor, *iii.* 395 ; he enters into a league with his brother Seleucus against Ptolemy, 398 ; he declares war against Seleucus, gives him battle, and defeats him with great danger of his life, 399 ; he is attacked and defeated by Eumenes, *ib.* ; he retires to Ariarathes, who soon after seeks occasion to rid himself of him, 400 ; he takes refuge with Ptolemy, who imprisons him ; he escapes and is assassinated by robbers, *ib.*
- Antiochus III. surnamed the Great, begins to reign in Syria, *iii.* 446 ; fidelity of Achæus in respect to him, *ib.* ; he appoints Hermias his prime minister, 446 ; Molon and Alexander whom he had appointed governors of Media and Persia, revolt against him, *ib.* ; he marries Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, 447 ; he sacrifices Epi- genes, the most able of his generals, to the jealousy of Hermias, 449 ; he marches against the rebels, and reduces them *ib.* ; he rids himself of Hermias, 451 ; he marches into Cœlosyria, and takes Seleucia, 452 ; Tyre and Ptolemais, 453 ; he makes a truce with Ptolemy, *ib.* ; the war breaks out

again, 454; Antiochus gains many advantages, *ib.*; he loses a great battle at Raphia, 455; he makes peace with Ptolemy, 457; he turns his arms against Achæus, who had revolted, *ib.*; Achæus is put into his hands by treachery, and executed, *ib.*; expeditions of Antiochus into Media, 508; Parthia, 509; Hyrcania, *ib.*; Bactria, and even into India, 510; he enters into an alliance with Philip to invade the kingdom of Egypt, 512; and seizes Cœlosyria and Palestine, 513; he makes war against Attalus, 525; upon the remonstrances of the Romans, he retires, *ib.*; he recovers Cœlosyria, which Aristomenes had taken from him, *ib.*; Antiochus forms the design of seizing Asia Minor, 526; he takes some places there, *iv.* 9; an embassy is sent to him from the Romans upon that head, *ib.*; Hannibal retires to him, 12; the arrival of that general determines him upon a war with the Romans, *ib.*; he marches against the Pisidians, and subjects them, 22; he goes to Greece at the request of the Ætolians, 25; he makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, *ib.*; the Romans declare war against him *ib.*; he makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsels, 32; he goes to Chalcis, and marries the daughter of the person in whose house he lodges, *ib.*; he seizes the straits of Thermopylæ, *ib.*; he is defeated near those mountains, and escapes to Chalcis, 34; on his return to Ephesus he ventures a sea-fight, and loses it, 37; his fleet gains some advantages over the Rhodians, 38; he loses a second battle at sea, 39; conduct of Antiochus after this defeat, *ib.*; he makes proposals of peace, 41; which are rejected, 42; he loses a great battle near Magnesia, 46, &c.; he demands peace, and obtains it, 47; on what conditions, *ib.*; in order to pay the tribute to the Romans, he plun-

ders a temple in Elymais, 63; he is killed, *ib.*; character of Antiochus, *ib.*; Daniel's prophecies concerning that prince, *ib.*

Antiochus, eldest son of Antiochus the Great, dies in the flower of his youth, *iv.* 22; character of that young prince, *ib.*

Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes, goes to Rome as an hostage, *iv.* 47; he ascends the throne of Syria, 105; dispute between that prince and the king of Egypt, *ib.*; he marches against Egypt, 108; and gains a first victory over Ptolemy, *ib.*; then a second, 109; he makes himself master of Egypt, *ib.*; and takes the king himself, *ib.*; upon the rumour of a general revolt, he enters Palestine, 110; besieges and takes Jerusalem, *ib.*; where he exercises the most horrid cruelties, *ib.* &c.; Antiochus renews the war in Egypt, 111; he replaces Ptolemy Philometer upon the throne, and with what view, 113; he returns to Syria, *ib.*; he comes back to Egypt, and marches to Alexandria, 114; Popilius, the Roman ambassador, obliges him to quit it, *ib.*

Antiochus, incensed at what happened in Egypt, vents his rage upon the Jews, *iv.* 115; he orders Appollonius, one of his generals, to destroy Jerusalem, *ib.*; cruelties committed there by that general, *ib.*; Antiochus endeavors to abolish the worship of the true God at Jerusalem, 116; he enters Judea, and commits horrible cruelties, 118; he celebrates games at Daphne, near Antioch, 121; several of his generals defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 124, &c.; he goes to Persia, 126; attempts to plunder the temple of Elymais, and is shamefully repulsed, *ib.*; upon receiving advice of the defeat of his armies in Judea, he sets out instantly with design to exterminate the Jews, *ib.*; he is struck by the hand of God



in the way, and dies in the most exquisite torments, 127; Daniel's prophecies concerning this prince, *ib.*

**Antiochus V.** called Eupator, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria, *iv.* 226; he continues the war with the Jews, 227; his generals, and himself in person, are defeated by Judas Maccabeus, *ib.*; he makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple, 229; Romans discontented with Eupator, 232; his soldiers deliver him up to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 233.

**Antiochus VI.** surnamed Theos, is set upon the throne of Syria by Tryphon, *iv.* 241; he is assassinated soon after, 243.

**Antiochus VII.** surnamed Sidetes, marries Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria, 245; he dethrones Tryphon, who is put to death, *ib.*; he marches into Judea, 252; he besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, *ib.*; the city capitulates, *ib.*; he turns his arms against Parthia, 253; where he perishes, *ib.*; adventure of this prince in hunting *ib.*

**Antiochus VIII.** surnamed Grypus, begins to reign in Syria, 258; he marries Tryphena, the daughter of Physcon, king of Egypt, *ib.*; he defeats and expels Zebina, *ib.*; his mother Cleopatra endeavours to poison him, and is poisoned herself, *ib.*; Antiochus reigns some time in peace, 259; war between that prince and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, 260; the two brothers divide the empire of Syria between them, 261; Grypus marries Selena the daughter of Cleopatra, and renews the war against his brother, 266; he is assassinated by one of his vassals, *ib.*

**Antiochus IX.** surnamed the Cyzicenean, makes war against his brother Antiochus Grypus, *iv.*

260; he marries Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had repudiated, *ib.*; after several battles, he comes to an accommodation with his brother, and divides the empire of Syria with him, 261; he goes to the aid of the Samaritans, and is unsuccessful in that war, *ib.*; after his brother's death he endeavours to possess himself of his dominions, 267; he loses a battle against Seleucus the son of Grypus, who puts him to death, *ib.*

**Antiochus X.** surnamed Eusebes, son of Antiochus the Cyzicenean, causes himself to be crowned king of Syria, and expels Seleucus, *iv.* 267; he gains a battle against Antiochus and Philip, brother of Seleucus, *ib.*; he marries Selena the widow of Grypus, *ib.*; he is entirely defeated by Philip, and obliged to take refuge amongst the Parthians, *ib.*; by their aid he returns into Syria, *ib.*; he is again expelled, and retires into Cilicia, where he ends his days, 269.

**Antiochus XI.** son of Grypus endeavours to revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, 267; he is defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in endeavouring to pass the Orontes, *ib.*

**Antiochus XII.** surnamed Dionysius, seizes Cœlosyria, and reigns some short time, *iv.* 268.

**Antiochus XIII.** called Asiaticus, sent by Selena his mother to Rome, *iv.* 270; on his return he goes to Sicily, and receives an enormous affront from Verres, *ib.*; he reigns some time in Syria, 272; Pompey deprives him of his dominions, 403.

**Antipas, or Antipater,** Herod's father, excites great troubles in Judea, *iv.* 285, &c.; he sends troops to aid Cæsar, besieged in Alexandria, 421.

**Antipater,** Alexander's lieutenant, is appointed by that prince to govern Macedonia in his absence, *iii.* 80; he defeats the Lacedæmo-

- ans who had revolted against Macedonia, 157; Alexander takes his government from him, and orders him to come to him, 218; suspicion of Antipater in respect to Alexander's death, 224; Antipater's expeditions into Greece after Alexander's death, 249; he is defeated by the Athenians near Lamia, to which he retires, *ib.*; he surrenders that place by capitulation, 251; he seizes Athens, and puts a garrison into it, 352; he puts Demosthenes and Hyperides to death, 254; he gives Phila his daughter to Craterus in marriage, 256; he is appointed regent of the kingdom of Macedonia in the room of Perdiccas, 264; death of Antipater, 267.
- Antipater, eldest son of Cassander, *iii.* 330; dispute between that prince and Alexander for the crown of Macedonia, *ib.*; he kills his mother Thessalonica, who favoured his younger brother, *ib.*; Demetrius drives him out of Macedonia, *ib.*; he retires into Thrace, and dies there, *ib.*
- Antiphon, courtier of Dionysius. Witty saying, which cost him his life, *ii.* 411.
- Anysis, king of Egypt, *i.* 155.
- Aornos, a rock of India, besieged and taken by Alexander, *iii.* 189.
- Apaturia, feasts celebrated at Athens, *ii.* 223.
- Apaturius, officer of Seleucus Ceraunus, forms a conspiracy against that prince, and poisons him, *iii.* 446; he is put to death, *ib.*
- Apega, infernal machine invented by Nabis, *iii.* 507.
- Apelles, courtier of Philip, *iii.* 467; abuses his power, *ib.*; he endeavours to humble and enslave the Achæans, *ib.*; he perishes miserably, 477.
- Apelles, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, is sent ambassador to Rome by Philip, *iv.* 99; after the death of Demetrius, he escapes into Italy, 101.
- Apelles, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, endeavours to make Mattathias sacrifice to idols, 117; Mattathias kills him with all his followers, 118.
- Apellicon, Athenian library erected by him at Athens, *iv.* 376.
- Apis, ox adored under that name by the Egyptians, *i.* 130.
- Apis, king of Argos, *i.* 475.
- Apollo, temple erected in honour of him at Delphi, *i.* 43.
- Apollocrates, eldest son of Dionysius the younger, commands in the citadel of Syracuse in the room of his father, *ii.* 431; he surrenders that place to Dion, and retires to his father, 436.
- Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's officers, *iii.* 143.
- Apollodorus, friend of Cleopatra, favours the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, *iv.* 418.
- Apollodorus, governor of Gaza for Lathyrus, defends that place against Alexander Jannæus, *iv.* 281; he is assassinated by his brother Lysimachus, *ib.*
- Apollonides, officer in the army of Eumenes, occasions the loss of a battle, *iii.* 264; he is seized, and put to death, *ib.*
- Apollonides, magistrate of Syracuse, *iv.* 341; his wise discourse in the assembly of the people, *ib.*
- Apollonius, lord of the court of Antiochus Epiphanes, is sent ambassador by that prince, first to Egypt, *iv.* 107; then to Rome, *ib.*; Antiochus sends him with an army against Jerusalem, with orders to destroy that city, 116; his cruelties there, *ib.*; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, and killed in the battle, 122.
- Apollonius, governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, marches against Jonathan, and is defeated, *iv.* 238; he forms a plot against the life of Ptolemy Philometer, *ib.*
- Apollophanes, physician to Antiochus the Great, discovers to that prince the conspiracy formed against him by Hermias, *iii.* 450;

- salutary advice which he gave Antiochus, 452.
- Appius (Claudius,) Roman consul, is sent into Sicily to aid the Mamertines, i. 212, iv. 325 ; he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, i. 213, iv. 325.
- Appius, (Claudius,) Roman senator, prevents the senate from accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, iii. 364.
- Appius (Claudius,) a Roman, commands a body of troops, and is beat near Ucana, against which he marched with design to plunder it, iv. 155.
- Apries ascends the throne of Egypt, i. 162 ; success of that prince, ib.
- Zedekiah king of Judea, implores his aid, ib ; declares himself protector of Israel, 163 ; Egypt revolts against him, ib. ; and sets Amasis on the throne, ib. ; he is obliged to retire into Upper Egypt, 164 ; Amasis defeats him in a battle, in which he is taken prisoner, and put to death, 166.
- Aquilius (Manius,) Roman proconsul, is defeated in a battle by Mithridates, who takes him prisoner and puts him to death, iv. 365.
- Arabians (Nabuthæan) ; character of that people, iii. 295.
- Aracus, Lacedæmonian admiral, ii. 225.
- Aræus, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achæans, and carries accusations against them to Rome, iv. 72 ; the Achæans condemn him to die, 74 ; his sentence is annulled by the Romans, 76.
- Aræus, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns in Sparta, iii. 375.
- Aræus, another king of Sparta, iii. 415.
- Araspes, lord of Media, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthæa prisoner, i. 367 ; passion which he conceives for that princess, 368 ; goodness of Cyrus in respect to him, ib. ; he does that prince great service in going as a spy among the Assyrians, ib.
- Aratus, son of Clinias, escapes from Sicyon, to avoid the fury of Abantidas, iii. 404 ; he delivers that city from the tyranny, 405 ; and unites it with the Achæan league, ib. ; he appeases a sedition upon the point of breaking out at Sicyon, 406 ; he is elected general of the Achæans, 408 ; he takes Corinth from Antigonus, 410 ; he makes several cities enter into the Achæan league, 411 ; he has not the same success at Argos, 414 ; he marches against the Ætolians, 421 ; Cleomenes, king of Sparta, gains several advantages over him, 427 ; Aratus's envy of that prince, 430 ; he calls in Antigonus to aid the Achæans against the Lacedæmonians, 431 ; he marches against the Ætolians, and is defeated near Caphæ, 460 ; Philip's affection for Aratus, 461 ; Apelles, Philip's minister, accuses him falsely to that prince, 469 ; he is declared innocent, ib. ; he accompanies Philip into Ætolia ; his expeditions against the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, Elæans, 471, &c. ; Philip causes him to be poisoned, 483 ; his funeral solemnised magnificently, ib. ; praise and character of Aratus, ib. &c.
- Aratus, the younger, son of the great Aratus, is chief magistrate of the Achæans, iii. 465 ; Philip causes him to be poisoned, 483.
- Arbaces, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts against that prince, and founds the kingdom of the Medes, i. 324, 325.
- Arbaces, general of the army of Artaxerxes Moemon against his brother Cyrus, ii. 249.
- Arbela, city of Assyria, famous for Alexander's victory over Darius, iii. 141.
- Arcesilas, Alexander's lieutenant, provinces that fell to his lot after that prince's death, iii. 246.
- Archagathus, son of Agathocles, commands in Africa after his father's departure, i. 209 ; he perishes there miserably, ib.
- Archelaus, governor of Susa for Alexander, iii. 145.
- Archelaus, general for Antigonus,

- marches against Aratus, who besieged Corinth, and is taken prisoner, iii. 410; Aratus sets him at liberty, 411.
- Archelaus**, one of the generals of Mithridates, takes Athens, iv. 366; he is driven out of it by Sylla, 369; he is defeated by the same captain first at Cberonæa, 371; and then at Orchomenos, 372; he escapes to Chalcis, *ib.*; and has an interview with Sylla near Delium, 373; Archelaus goes over to Muræna, 377; he engages the latter to make war against Mithridates, *ib.*
- Archelaus**, son of the former, is made high-priest, and sovereign of Comana, iv. 405; he marries Berenice, queen of Egypt, 414; he is killed in a battle with the Romans, *ib.*
- Archelaus**, son of the latter, enjoys the same dignities as his father, iv. 219; he marries Glaphyra, and has two sons by her, *ib.*
- Archelaus**, second son of Archelaus and Glaphyra, ascends the throne of Cappadocia, iv. 219; Tiberius does him great service with Augustus, *ib.*; he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself, *ib.*; he is cited to Rome, and why, 320; he is very ill received there, and dies soon after, 321.
- Archias**, Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, ii. 120, 168.
- Archias**, Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast given by Philidas, one of them, to the boeotarchs, ii. 461.
- Archias**, comedian, delivers up the orator Hyperides, and several other persons, to Antigonus, iii. 254.
- Archidamia**, Lacedæmonian lady, heroic action of hers, iii. 376; she is put to death by order of Amphares, 425.
- Archidamus**, king of Sparta, ii. 89; he saves the Lacedæmonians from the fury of the helots, *ib.*; he commands the troops of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 126; he besieges Plataea, 137.
- Archidamus**, son of Agesilaus, gains a battle against the Arcadians, ii. 475; his valor during the siege of Sparta, by Epaminondas, 485; he reigns in Sparta, 497.
- Archidamus**, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta to avoid the fury of Leonidas, iii. 425; Clemones recalls him, 427; he is assassinated in returning home, *ib.*
- Archimedes**, famous geometrician, iv. 331; he invents many machines of war, 332; prodigious effects of those machines, 344; he is killed at the taking of Syracuse, 352; his tomb discovered by Cicero, *ib.*
- Archon**, one of Alexander's officers, provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, iii. 216.
- Archon**, is elected chief magistrate of the Achæans, iv. 156; wise resolutions which he makes that people take, *ib.*
- Archons** instituted at Athens, i. 496; ii. 362; their function, *ib.*; Ardydys, king of Lydia, i. 345.
- Areopagus**; its establishment, i. 490; ii. 560; Pericles weakens its authority, ii. 362.
- Arete**, daughter of Dionysius the tyrant, first married to her brother Theorides, and afterwards to her uncle Dion, ii. 413; she marries Timocrates in the banishment of the latter, 425; Dion takes her again, 436; her death, 439.
- Arethusa**, fountain famous in fabulous history, ii. 179.
- Argæus** is placed by the Athenians upon the throne of Macedonia, iii. 10; is defeated by Philip, 14.
- Agilian**, a name given the slave who discovered Pausanias's conspiracy, ii. 58.
- Arginuse** isles, famous for the victory of the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, ii. 220.
- Argo**, king of Lydia, i. 343.
- Argos**, foundation of that kingdom, i. 475; kings of Argos, *ib.*; war between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, 90; they refuse to aid Demetrius, *ib.*; he implores aid of

- the Greeks against the Persians, ii. 22 ; Argos besieged by Pyrrhus iii. 379 ; Aratus endeavours to bring that city into the Achæan league, 413 ; but without success, 413 ; Argos is subjected by the Lacedæmonians, 433 ; and afterwards by Antigonus, ib. ; Argos surrenders to Philocles, one of Philip's general's, 532 ; the latter puts it again into the hands of Nabis, 533 ; it throws off the yoke of that tyrant, and reinstates its liberty, iv. 17.
- Argus, king of Argos, i. 475.
- Ariæus commands the left wing of Cyrus's army at the battle of Cunaxa, ii. 249 ; he flies upon advice of that prince's death, 251 ; the Greeks offer him the crown of Persia, 255 ; he refuses it, ib. ; and makes a treaty with them, ib.
- Ariamnes, king of Cappadocia, iv. 314.
- Ariarathes I. king of Cappadocia, iv. 314.
- Ariarathes II. son of the first, reigns over Cappadocia, iv. 314 ; he is defeated in a battle by Perdiccas, who seizes his dominions, and puts him to death, ib.
- Ariarathes III. escapes into Armenia after his father's death, iv. 314 ; he ascends the throne of his ancestors, ib.
- Ariarathes IV. king of Cappadocia, iv. 315.
- Ariarathes V. king of Cappadocia, marries Antiochus, daughter of Antiochus the Great, iv. 315 ; the Romans lay a great fine upon him for having aided his father-in-law, 62 ; he sends his son to Rome, and with what view, 140 ; he declares for the Romans against Perseus, 142 ; death of Ariarathes, 198.
- Ariarathes VI. goes to Rome, and why, iv. 140 ; he refuses to reign during his father's life, 198 ; after his father's death he ascends the throne of Cappadocia, ib. ; he renews the alliance with the Romans, ib. ; he is dethroned by the Romans, ib. ; Attalus re-establishes him upon the throne, ib. ; he enters into a confederacy against Demetrius, he marches to aid the Romans against Aristonious, and is killed in that war, ib.
- Ariarathes VII. reigns in Cappadocia, iv. 316 ; his brother-in-law Mithridates causes him to be assassinated, ib.
- Ariarathes VIII. is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by Mithridates, iv. 317 ; he is assassinated by that prince, ib.
- Ariarathes IX. king of Cappadocia, is defeated by Mithridates, and driven out of his kingdom, iv. 317.
- Ariarathes X. ascends the throne of Cappadocia, iv. 319 ; Sisinna disputes possession of it with him, and carries it against him, ib. ; Ariarathes reigns a second time in Cappadocia, ib.
- Ariarathes, son of Mithridates reigns in Cappadocia, iv. 362 ; he is dethroned by the Romans, ib. ; he is reinstated a second, and then a third time, 363.
- Ariaspes, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, deceived by his brother Ochus, kills himself, ii. 499.
- Aridæus, bastard, brother of Alexander, is declared king of Macedonia after the death of that prince, iii. 245 ; Olympias causes him to be put to death, 278.
- Arimanius, divinity adored in Persia, i. 455.
- Armasus (Sogdian,) governor of Petra Oxiana, refuses to surrender to Alexander, iii. 174 ; he is besieged in that place, ib. ; he submits to Alexander, who puts him to death, 176.
- Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia under Artaxerxes Mnemon, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. 102 ; he revolts against that prince, ii. 498.
- Ariobarzanes I. is placed upon the throne of Cappadocia by the Romans, iv. 317 ; he is twice dethroned by Tigranes, ib. ; Pompey reinstates him in the quiet possession of the throne, ib.

- Ariobarzanes II.** ascends the throne of Cappadocia, and is killed soon after, iv. 318.
- Ariobarzanes III.** reigns in Cappadocia, iv. 318; Cicero suppresses a conspiracy forming against him, ib.; he sides with Pompey against Cæsar, 319; the latter lays him under contribution, ib.; he refuses to ally with Cæsar's murderers, ib. Cassius attacks him, and having taken him prisoner, puts him to death, ib.
- Ariobarzanes**, governor of Persia for Darius, posts himself at the pass of Susa, to prevent Alexander from passing it, iii. 147; he is put to flight, ib.
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- Charon, Theban, receives Pelopidas and the conspirators into his house, ii. 459 ; he is elected boeotarch, 461.
- Charondas is chosen legislator at Thurium, ii. 121 ; he kills himself upon having broken one of his own laws, 122.
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- Cimon, son of Miltiades, when very young signalizes himself by his piety to his father, i. 562; he encourages the Athenians, by his example, to abandon their city, and to embark, ii. 31; he distinguishes himself at the battle of Salamin, 37; he commands the fleet sent by the Greeks to deliver their allies from the Persian yoke, in conjunction with Aristides, 56; the Athenians place Cimon at the head of their armies after Themistocles retires, 73; he makes several conquests in Thrace, and settles a colony there, ib.; he makes himself master of the isle of Scyros, where he finds the bones of Theseus, which he brings to Athens, 74; his conduct in the division of the booty with the allies, ib.; Cimon gains two victories over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon, in one day, 76; worthy use which he makes of the riches taken from the enemy, ib.; he makes new conquests in Thrace, ib.; he marches to the aid of the Lacedæmonians attacked by the helots, 90; he is banished by the Athenians, ib.; he quits his retreat, and repairs to his tribe to fight the Lacedæmonians, 91; he is recalled from banishment, ib.; he re-establishes peace between Athens and Sparta, 91; he gains many victories, which oblige the Persians to conclude a treaty highly glorious for the Greeks, ib.; he dies during the conclusion of the treaty, 92; character and praise of Cimon, ib.
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- Claudius (Cento,) Roman officer, is sent by Sulpitius to the aid of Athens, iii. 518; he ravages the city of Chalcis, ib.
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- Cleades, Theban, endeavours to excuse the rebellion of his country to Alexander, iii. 75.
- Cleander, Alexander's lieutenant in Media, assassinates Parmenio by his order, iii. 166.
- Clearchus, Lacedæmonian captain, takes refuge with Cyrus the younger, ii. 245; he is placed at the head of the Greek troops in that prince's expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, 246; he is victorious on his side at the battle of Cunaxa, 252; he commands the Greek troops in their retreat after the battle, 255; he is seized by treachery, and sent to Artaxerxes, who causes him to be put to death, 258; praise of Clearchus, 259.
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- Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, marches against the Thebans, ii. 467; he is killed at the battle of Leuctra, 469.

- Cleombrotus**, son-in-law of Leonidas, causes himself to be elected king of Sparta to the prejudice of his father-in-law, iii. 420; he is dethroned soon after by Leonidas, 422, and banished from Sparta, 423.
- Cleomenes**, king of Sparta, refuses to join the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians, i. 547; he marches against the people of Ægina, 556; he effects the expulsion of his colleague Demaratus from the throne, ib.; he reduces the people of Ægina, and dies soon after, ib.
- Cleomenes**, son of Leonidas, marries Agiatis, iii. 426; he ascends the throne of Sparta, 427; he enters into a war with the Achæans, ib.; he gains many advantages over them, ib. &c.; he reforms the government of Sparta, and re-establishes the ancient discipline, 428; he gains new advantages over the Achæans, 430, &c.; he sends his mother and children as hostages into Egypt, 434; he takes Megalopolis by surprise, 435; he is defeated at Selasia by Antigonus king of Macedonia, 440; he retires into Egypt, 441; he cannot obtain permission to return into his country, 462; unfortunate death of Cleomenes, 463; his character, 443.
- Cleon**, Athenian, his extraction, ii. 128; by his credit with the people he prevents the conclusion of a peace between Sparta and Athens, 148; he reduces the Lacedæmonians shut up in the island of Sphacteria, 149; he marches against Brasidas, and advances to the walls of Amphipolis, 158; surprised by Brasidas, he flies, and is killed by a soldier, ib.
- Cleon**, flatterer in Alexander's court, endeavours to persuade the Macedonians to prostrate themselves before that prince, iii. 182.
- Cleonis** commands the troops of the Messenians in the first war with Sparta, i. 91; after the battle of Ithoma, he disputes the prize of valour with Aristomenes, 93; he afterwards disputes the crown with him on the death of king Euphæus, 93.
- Cleonymus**, Spartan, being disappointed of the throne, retires to Pyrrhus, and engages him to march against Sparta, iii. 375; history of this Cleonymus, ib.
- Cleopatra**, niece of Attalus, marries Philip king of Macedonia, iii. 56.
- Cleopatra**, Philip's daughter, is married to Alexander, king of Epirus, iii. 57; Antigonus causes her to be put to death, 298.
- Cleopatra**, daughter of Antiochus the Great, is promised and then given in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes, iii. 527; after her husband's death she is declared regent of the kingdom, and her son's guardian, iv. 84; death of that princess, iv. 106.
- Cleopatra**, daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes, makes an accommodation between her brothers Philometer and Evergetes, iv. 113; after the death of Philometer her husband, she marries Physcon, 239; that prince puts her away, to marry one of her daughters, 255; the Alexandrians place her upon the throne in Physcon's stead, ib.; she is obliged to take refuge in Syria, 256.
- Cleopatra**, daughter of Ptolemy Philometer, is married to Alexander Bala, iv. 237; her father takes her from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius, 238; whilst her husband is kept prisoner by the Parthians, she marries Antiochus Sidetes, 245; after the death of Sidetes, she returns to Demetrius, 256; she causes the gates of Ptolemais to be shut against him, ib.; she kills Seleucus her eldest son, 257; she dies of poison she would have given her second son Grypus, 259.
- Cleopatra**, Philometer's daughter marries Physcon, iv. 239; after her husband's death she reigns in Egypt with her son Lathyrus,

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- Cleopatra, Physcon's daughter, and wife of Lathyrus, is repudiated by her husband, *iv.* 259; she gives herself to Antiochus the Cyprian, *ib.*; Tryphæna her sister causes her to be murdered, 260.
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- Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, ascends the throne of Egypt in conjunction with her eldest brother, *iv.* 415; she is dethroned by the young king's guardians, *ib.*; she raises troops to reinstate herself, 416; she repairs to Cæsar, and with what view, 418; Cæsar establishes her queen of Egypt jointly with her brother, 422; she puts her brother to death, and reigns alone in Egypt, 423; after Cæsar's death she declares for the triumvirs, *ib.*; she goes to Anthony at Tarsus, 424; gets the ascendant of him, 425; she carries him to Alexandria, 426; her jealousy of Octavia, 427; coronation of Cleopatra and her children, 429; she accompanies Anthony in his expeditions, *ib.*; the Romans declare war against her, 432; she flies at the battle of Actium, 433; and returns to Alexandria, 434; she endeavours to gain Augustus, and to sacrifice Anthony to him, *ib.*; she retires into the tombs of the kings of Egypt to avoid Anthony's fury, 436; that Roman expires in her arms, 437; she obtains permission from Cæsar to bury Anthony, 438; she has a conversation with Cæsar, *ib.* &c.; to avoid serving as an ornament in Cæsar's triumph, she dies by the bite of an asp, 439.
- Cleophes, mother of Arsaces, king of the Mazææ, reigns after the death of her son, *iii.* 188; she surrenders to Alexander, who reinstates her in her dominions, 189.
- Cleophon, Athenian orator, animates the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians, *ii.* 212; his character, *ib.*
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- Clinias, Greek, of the island of Cos, commands the Egyptians in their revolt against Ochus, and is killed in a battle, *ii.* 516.
- Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyone; his method in the choice of a son-in-law, *i.* 504.
- Clisthenes, of the family of the Alcæonidæ, forms a faction at Athens, *i.* 509; he is obliged to quit that place, but returns soon after, *ib.*
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- Clitus, one of Alexander's captains, saves the life of that prince at the battle of the Granicus, *iii.* 83; Alexander gives him the government of the provinces of Artabassus, 177; and kills him the same day at a feast, 178.
- Clitus, commander of Antipater's fleet, gains two victories over the Athenians, *iii.* 251; Antigonus takes the government of Lydia from him, 268.
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- Dorylaus, one of Mithridates's generals, is defeated by Sylla in the plains of Orchomenos, *iv.* 371.
- Doryphori ; body of troops, guards of the kings of Persia, *i.* 439.
- Draco, legislator of Athens, *i.* 497 ; his laws are annulled by Solon, 500.
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- Esrhaddon** ascends the throne of Assyria, i. 328 ; he takes Babylon and the country of Israel, 329 ; he carries away Manasseh king of Judah, *ib.* ; his death, *ib.*
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- Eunuchs. The use of them introduced by Cyrus in the east, i. 397; credit and power which they acquired with their princes, *ib.* ii. 518.
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- Eurolochus, chief magistrate of the Magnetes, influences them against the Romans, iv. 25.
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- Eurydice, widow of Ptolemy Soter, marries her daughter Ptolemaida to Demetrius, iii. 334.
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- Eurysthenes, king of Sparta, i. 89.
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- Euthydemus, appointed by the Athenians to command jointly with Nicias, forces that general to engage in a sea-fight, wherein he is beat, ii. 192.
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- Fabricius** is deputed by the Romans to Pyrrhus, iii. 365 ; he commands in the war against that prince, 369.
- Fannius (C.)** Roman officer, distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, i. 296.
- Fimbria**, commandet of the Romans in Asia, defeats the troops of Mithridates, iv. 372 ; he kills Flaccus, seizes that consul's army, and marches against Mithridates, 374 ; upon being abandoned by his troops, he kills himself in despair, 375.
- Flaccus (L. Valerius)** is elected consul, and marches against Mithridates, 371 ; he is killed by Fimbria, 374.
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- Gadates**, prince of Assyria, submits to Cyrus, i. 369.
- Gagemela**, or Camel's house, place famous for Alexander's second victory over Darius, i. 541.
- Gala**, Masinissa's father, joins the Carthaginians against the Romans, i. 280.
- Galatia**, or Gallo-Grecia, a province of Asia Minor, inhabited by the Gauls after their irruption into Greece, iii. 356.
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- Gelon**, son of Hiero, espouses the party of the Carthaginians against the Romans, iv. 334.
- Gentius**, king of Illyria, becomes suspected by the Romans, iv. 141 ; he makes an alliance with Pesseus, 166 ; he declares against the Romans, and imprisons their ambassadors, 168 ; the Romans send the prætor Anicius against him, ib. ; he is obliged to throw himself at his feet, and implore his mercy, ib. ; Anicius sends him to Rome with all his family, 169.
- Gisgo**, son of Hamilcar, is punished for his father's ill success, and is banished, i. 194.
- Gisgo**, Carthaginian, endeavours to suppress the revolt of the mercenaries, i. 226 ; Spendius their general puts him to death, 227.
- Gisgo** endeavours to prevent the Carthaginians from accepting the conditions of peace proposed by Scipio, i. 268.
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- Gobryas**, Assyrian lord, puts himself and family under the protection of Cyrus, i. 369 ; he puts himself at the head of a body of troops at the siege of Babylon, 391 ; he enters into the conspira-

- cy-against Smerdis the Magian ; his sense of the present given Darius by the Scythians, 541.
- Gobryas, Persian lord, commands in the army of Artaxerxes at the battle of Cunaxa, ii. 249.
- Gordian, capital city of Phrygia, famous for the chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied, which Alexander cut, iii. 88.
- Gorgias, officer to Antiochus Epiphanes, marches with Nicanor against Judas Maccabeus, iv. 123 ; his troops are put to flight, 124.
- Gorjidaë Gorgias, Athenian, joins Pelopidas to expel the tyrants of Thebes, ii. 461.
- Gorgias, sophist, is sent deputy from the Leontines to Athens to demand aid against the Syracusans, ii. 166.
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- Gyges kills Condaules, king of Lydia, whose principal officer he was, and ascends the throne in his stead, i. 344 ; what Plato says of his ring, ib.
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- HALICARNASSUS, city of Doris, i. 471 ; besieged and taken by Alexander, iii. 85.
- Halyattes, king of Lydia, i. 345 ; war of that prince with Cyaxares, ib. ; continues the siege of Miletus begun by his father, 365 ; he raises the siege of that city, and wherefore, ib.
- Hamilcar commands the army sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily at the request of Xerxes, i. 193, ii. 110 ; he is defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, ib. ; his death, i. 193.
- Hamilcar, son of Gyscon, commands the Carthaginian army against Agathocles, and gains a great victory over him, i. 204 ; he falls alive into the hands of the Syracusans whilst besieging their city, 208 ; he is put to death, ib.

- Hamilcar**, surnamed **Barca**, general of the Carthaginians, i. 223 ; he commands the army against the mercenaries, 228 ; and defeats them entirely, 229 ; he goes to Spain, which he conquers in a short time, 233 ; he is killed in a battle, *ib.*
- Hamilcar**, surnamed **Rhodianus**, a Carthaginian, goes into the camp of Alexander by order of Carthage, i. 210 ; at his return he is put to death, *ib.*
- Hannibal**, son of **Gisco**, is placed at the head of the troops sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily to the aid of the people of **Egesta**, i. 194 ; actions of that general in Sicily, *ib.* ; he dies there of the plague, 195.
- Hannibal** commands the Carthaginian fleet, and is defeated by the consul **Duilius**, i. 214 ; he besieges the mercenaries in **Tunis**, 229 ; he falls into their hands, and is crucified, 230.
- Hannibal**, surnamed the Great, at nine years old goes with his father sent to command in Spain, i. 233 ; he is appointed to command there after **Asdrubal's** death, 234 ; after several conquests he besieges **Saguntum**, 236 ; and takes it, *ib.* ; he prepares for his march into Italy, 237 ; he goes to **Cadiz**, and with what view, *ib.* ; he begins his march, 238 ; his expeditions as far as the **Rhone**, *ib.* ; he passes that river, 239 ; he passes the Alps, 241 ; he enters Italy, 243 ; defeats the Romans near the river **Ticinus**, 245 ; he marches to **Tuscany**, 247 ; he loses an eye in passing the **Appennines**, 248 ; he gains a battle near the lake of **Thrasymene**, 249 ; he concludes a treaty with **Philip**, and sends ambassadors to him, *iii.* 480 ; his conduct in regard to **Fabius**, i. 250 ; his manner of extricating himself from the wrong step he had taken at **Casilinum**, 251 ; he gains a famous victory near **Cannæ**, 255 ; he sends deputies to Carthage with the news of his victory, and to demand reinforcement, 256 ; he makes a treaty with **Hieronymus**, *iv.* 337 ; he winters at **Capua**, i. 257 ; and suffers the courage of his troops to be enervated by the luxury of that place, *ib.* ; bad success of **Hannibal**, i. 259 ; he flies to the aid of **Capua**, besieged by the Romans *ib.* ; to make a diversion, he marches suddenly back against **Rome**, *ib.* ; after various attempts he abandons that enterprise, 260 ; he is recalled into Africa, 264 ; he has an interview there with **Scipio**, 266 ; followed by a battle, in which he is defeated, 267 ; he escapes to Carthage, *ib.* ; he causes a peace to be concluded with the Romans, *ib.* ; he undertakes and effects the reformation of the courts of justice and finances of Carthage, 271 ; pursued by the Romans, he retires to **Antiochus**, 274 ; his discourse to that prince, and the counsels he gives him, 275 ; he goes to **Syria** and **Phœnicia** to bring ships from thence, *iv.* 37 ; he is defeated at sea by the **Rhodians**, 39 ; he retires first to the island of **Crete**, i. 276 ; then to **Prusias**, *ib.* ; he does that prince great services, *ib.* ; betrayed by **Prusias**, he poisons himself, 277 ; **Hannibal's** character and praise, 278.
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- Hanno**, general of the Carthaginians, is defeated by the Romans near the islands **Ægates**, i. 224 ; the Carthaginians give him the command of their troops against the mercenaries, 228 ; the command is taken from him, *ib.* ; the Carthaginians place him again at the head of their troops, 230 ; **Hanno** opposes in vain the undertaking

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- Harpagus, officer of Astyages, is ordered by that prince to make away with Cyrus, i. 412; rage of Astyages upon discovering that Harpagus had disobeyed his orders, and the revenge he takes of him, *ib.*
- Harpalus, governor of Babylon for Alexander, quits the service of that prince, and retires to Athens, iii. 213; he corrupts Demosthenes with his presents, 214; the Athenians drive Harpalus out of their city, *ib.*
- Hegelochus, Physcon's general, defeats the Alexandrians, and takes their general Marsyas, prisoner, iv. 256.
- Hegetorides, a Thasian, exposes his life for the safety of his city besieged by the Athenians, ii. 77.
- Helenus son of Pyrrhus, accompanies his father to the siege of Argos, iii. 380; he enters the city with a body of troops, which occasions a confusion, in which his father perishes, *ib.*
- Heleopolis, machine of war invented by Demetrius, iii. 313.
- Heliodorus, prime minister to Seleucus Philopater, goes to Jerusalem to take away the treasures of the temple, iv. 103; he is chastised by God on that account, 104; he poisons Seleucus, and usurps the crown, 105; he is expelled by Eumenes, *ib.*
- Heliopolus, city of the lower Egypt, famous for its temple dedicated to the sun, i. 121; furious actions of Cambyzes there, 122.
- Hellanicæ, name of those who presided in the athletic games of Greece, i. 53.
- Hellenus, son of Deucalion, king of Thessaly, from whom the Greeks derive their name Έλληνες, i. 473.
- Helespont, strait between Europe and Asia, ii. 17.
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- Hephæstion, Alexander's favourite; mistake of the captive princesses in respect to him, iii. 102; he receives a wound at the battle of Arbela, 140; Alexander makes him marry Darius' youngest daughter, 212; his death, 217; Alexander's esteem for that favourite, *ib.*; extraordinary honours which that prince causes to be paid to him after his death, 219, &c.
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- Heraclidæ, or descendants from Hercules; they succeed the Attyades in the kingdom of Lydia, i. 343; they seize Peloponnesus, and are soon after driven out of it, 475; they re-enter Peloponnesus, and seize Lacedæmon, 477; they endeavour to oppose the augmentation of the Athenians, who defeat them in a battle, 479.
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- by Antiochus to Scipio Africanus, Herodotus, friend of Demetrius son of Philip, is seized on that prince's account, iv. 100; he is put to the torture, and dies on the rack, iv. 42.
- Heraclides**, treasurer of the province of Babylon, is banished by Demetrius Soter, iv. 233; he is appointed by Ptolemy, Attalus, and Ariarathes, to prepare Alexander Bala for personating the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, in order to his reigning instead of Demetrius, 235; he carries him to Rome, where he succeeds in causing him to be acknowledged king of Syria, 236.
- Herbesses**, city of Sicily, ii. 395.
- Hercules**, son of Alexander, and Barsina, iii. 244; is put to death by Polyspherchon, 297.
- Herippidas**, Spartan; his too rigid exactness obliges Sphitbridates to abandon the party of the Lacedæmonians, ii. 284.
- Hermias**, Carian, is declared prime-minister of Antiochus the Great, iii. 446; his character, ib.; he removes Epigenes, the most able of Antiochus's generals, 449; Antiochus causes him to be assassinated, 451.
- Hermocrates**, Syracusans, encourages his citizens to defend themselves against the Athenians, ii. 181; he is elected general, 182.
- Hermolaus**, officer in the train of Alexander, conspires against that prince, iii. 183; he is discovered and punished, ib.
- Herod**, Idumæan, is made governor of Galilee, iv. 289; he escapes from Jerusalem to avoid falling into the hands of the Parthians, ib.; he goes to Rome, and is declared king of Judea by the senate, 290; he forms the siege of Jerusalem, ib.; he goes to Samaria, and espouses Mariamne, ib.; he makes himself master of Jerusalem, and ascends the throne of Judea, 291.
- Herodicus**, one of the principal persons of Thessaly; unhappy fate of that prince and his family, iv. 87.
- Herodotus**, Greek historian; his birth, ii. 9.
- Herodotus**, friend of Demetrius son of Philip, is seized on that prince's account, iv. 100; he is put to the torture, and dies on the rack, ib.
- Hesiod**, Greek poet, i. 511.
- Hezekiah**, king of Judah, is cured miraculously, i. 328; he shows the ambassadors of the king of Babylon his riches and his palace, ib.; God menaces him by his prophet, ib.; accomplishment of those threats, 332.
- Hidarnes**, Persian of great quality, Statira's father, ii. 234.
- Hiempsal**, son of Micipsa, king of Numidia, i. 303; Jugurtha causes him to be murdered, 305.
- Hierax**, of Antioch, becomes prime minister to Physcon, iv. 246; that prince puts him to death, ib.
- Hiero I.** brother of Gelon, reigns after him in Syracuse, ii. 114; his character, ib.; suspicions which he forms against his brother, ib.; he attracts learned men about him, ib.; his goodness to the children of Anaxilaus, 116; his death, 117.
- Hiero II.** his birth, iv. 323; he is chosen captain-general of the Syracusans, 324; and soon after elected king, 325; he quits the party of the Carthaginians, and espouses that of the Romans, 326; he aids the first against the mercenaries, ib.; his pacific reign, ib.; he favours agriculture particularly, ib. &c.; distinguished proofs which he gives of his attachment to the Romans in the second punic war, 329, &c.; he employs the abilities of Archimedes, who makes abundance of machines of war for him for the defence of a place, 331; galley which Archimedes builds for him, 333; he dies at a great age much lamented by his people, 335.
- Hieroglyphics**; signification of the word, i. 130.
- Hieronimus**, Hiero's grandson, reigns after him at Syracuse, and by his vices causes him to be much regretted, iv. 336; he makes an al-

- Rance with Hannibal, 387 ; he is killed in a conspiracy, *ib.*
- Himera, city of Sicily ; its foundation, *ii.* 168 ; its destruction, 195.
- Himilcon, Carthaginian general, comes to Sicily to drive the Romans out of it, *iv.* 346 ; he perishes there, 349.
- Hippacra, city of Africa, refused at first to join the mercenaries, *i.* 227 ; and joins them afterwards, 229.
- Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, governs at Athens after his father's death, *i.* 506 ; his taste for literature, *ib.* ; he is killed in the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, 507.
- Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius, drives Calippus out of Syracuse, and reigns there two years, *ii.* 441.
- Hippias, son of Pisistratus, retains the sovereignty after the death of his father, *i.* 506 ; he finds means to frustrate the conspiracy formed by Harmodius and Aristogiton, 507 ; he is compelled to quit Attica, and goes to settle in Phrygia, 508 ; he takes refuge in Asia with Artaphernes, 509, 548 ; he engages the Persians in the war against the Greeks, and serves them as a guide, 557 ; he is killed at Marathon, fighting against his country, 559.
- Hippocrates, famous physician ; his great ability, *ii.* 131 ; his disinterestedness, *ib.*
- Hippocrates, native of Carthage, is sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus, and resides at his court, *iv.* 337 ; he becomes one of the principal magistrates of Syracuse, 341 ; he marches to the aid of Leontium, *ib.* ; and is reduced to fly, *ib.* ; he with Epicides, possess themselves of all authority at Syracuse, 343 ; he makes war in the field against Marcellus, 347 ; the plague destroys him and his troops, 349.
- Holopfernes, general for the king of Assyria, marches against the Israelites, and besieges Bethulia, *i.* 330 ; Judith cuts off his head, *ib.*
- Holopfernes, supposed brother of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dethrones him and reigns in his stead, *iv.* 235, 316 ; he is driven out by Attalus, and retires to Antioch, *ib.* ; he enters into a conspiracy against Demetrius his benefactor, *ib.* ; that prince imprisons him, *ib.*
- Homer, famous poet, *i.* 510, &c. ; to what perfection he carried the species of poetry to which he applied himself, *ib.*
- Hosea, king of Samaria, revolts against the king of Assyria, *i.* 327 ; he is laden with chains by Salmanaster, and put in prison for the rest of his life, *ib.*
- Hybla, a city of Sicily, *ii.* 168.
- Hyperbolus, Athenian ; his character, *ii.* 165 ; he endeavours to irritate the people against Nicias and Alcibiades, *ib.* ; he is banished by the ostracism, *ib.*
- Hyrcanians, people in the neighbourhood of Babylonia, subjected by Cyrus, *i.* 366.
- Hyrcanus, son of Joseph, is sent by his father to the court of Alexandria, to compliment the king upon the birth of his son Philometer, *iv.* 67 ; he distinguishes himself at the court by his address and magnificence, *ib.*
- Hyrcanus (John) son of Simon, is declared high-priest and prince of the Jews after his father's death, *iv.* 251 ; he is besieged by Antiochus Sidetes in Jerusalem, *ib.* ; and surrenders by capitulation, *ib.* he renders himself absolute and independent, 254 ; he renews the treaty with the Romans, 257 ; he augments his power in Judea, 261 ; he takes Samaria and demolishes it, 262 ; he becomes an enemy to the Pharisees, 263 ; he dies, *ib.*
- Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Jannæus, is made high-priest of the Jews, *iv.* 283 ; after the death of Alexander, he takes possession of the throne, *ib.* ; he is obliged to submit to Aristobulus his younger brother, *ib.* ; he has recourse to



- Pompey, who replaces him upon the throne, 288, &c ; he is again dethroned by Pacorus, son of Orodes, and delivered up to Antigonus, who causes his ears to be cut off, 289 ; the Parthians carry him into the east, *ib.* ; he returns to Jerusalem, where Herod puts him to death, *ib.*
- Hystaspes, father of Darius, governor of Persia, *i.* 421.
- Hystaspes, second son of Xerxes, is made governor of Bactriana, *ii.* 52 ; his remoteness from court makes way for his brother Artaxerxes to ascend the throne, *ib.* ; Artaxerxes undertakes to reduce him, 70 ; and entirely ruins his party, *ib.*
- Hystæus, tyrant of Miletus, prevails upon the generals of Ionia not to abandon Darius, then employed in a war with the Scythians, *i.* 542 ; Darius grants him a territory in Thrace, where he builds a city, 543 ; that prince recalls him to court, *ib.* ; Hystæus secretly supports the revolt of the Ionians, 546 ; he forms a conspiracy against the government, 549 ; he is discovered, *ib.* ; he is taken by the Persians, delivered up to Artaphernes, and put to death, 550 ; character of Hystæus, 551.
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- JADDUS, high-priest of the Jews, implores the protection of God against Alexander, *iii.* 122 ; honours paid him by that prince, *ib.* ; his death, 264.
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- Jason supplants his brother Onias, high-priest of the Jews, *iv.* 106 he is supplanted himself by his brother Menelaus, 108 ; he takes Jerusalem, and obliges Menelaus to retire into the citadel, 180.
- Javan, or Ion, son of Japhet, father of all the people known under the name of the Greeks, *i.* 472.
- Iberians, people of Asia, subjected by Pompey, *iv.* 402.
- Ibis, animal adored by the Egyptians, *i.* 130.
- Icetas of Syracuse, tyrant of the Leontines, causes the wife and mother-in-law of Dion to be put to death, *ii.* 438 ; the Syracusans call in his aid against Dionysius, and elect him their general, 442 ; he conceives the design of making himself master of Syracuse, *ib.* ; and seizes great part of the city, 443 ; Timoleon marches against him and obliges him to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines, 449 ; Icetas revolts against Timoleon, who punishes him and his son with death, *ib.*
- Idumæans, people of Palestine ; Hyrcanus obliges them to embrace Judaism, *iv.* 280.
- Jechonias, or Jeboiakim, king of Judah, is led captive to Babylon, *i.* 332 ; he is set at liberty after an imprisonment there of 37 years, 334.
- Jeboaz, king of Judea, led captive into Egypt, where he dies, *i.* 161.
- Jeboiakim is placed by Nechao upon the throne of Judea in the room of his brother Jeboaz, *i.* 161 ; he is conquered by Nebuchodonosor, 331 ; he revolts against that prince, *ib.* ; his death, *ib.*
- Jerusalem, city of Palestine, *i.* 31 ; taking of that city by Nechao, 160 ; it is besieged by Sennacherib, and delivered miraculously, 328 ; it is besieged and taken by Nebuchodonosor, 332 ; its fortifications demolished by that prince, *ib.* ; rebuilt by order of Artaxerxes, *ii.* 83 ; Alexander's entrance into Jerusalem, *iii.* 122 ; it is besieged and taken by Ptolemy, *iii.* 266 ; it is taken and plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes, *iv.* 110 ; its

- temple is profaned, *ib.* ; it is taken by Antiochus Sidetes, who causes its fortifications to be demolished, 252 ; Pompey takes Jerusalem by storm, 288 ; Cæsar permits its walls to be rebuilt which Pompey had caused to be demolished, 289 ; Herod takes Jerusalem, *iv.* 291.
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- of the Jews under Aristobulus, 279 ; Alexander Jannæus, 281 ; Alexandria, 283 ; Aristobulus, *II.* 285 ; Hyrcanus, 288 ; Antigonus, *iv.* 290 ; the sovereignty over the Jews transferred to a stranger, 291.
- Imilcon, son of Hanno, is sent lieutenant to Hannibal on his going to command in Sicily, *i.* 195 ; he takes Agrigentum, *ib.* ; he puts an end to the war by a treaty with Dionysius, and returns to Carthage, *ii.* 394 ; he returns to Sicily at the head of an army, 198 ; the plague spreads in his army, *ib.* ; he is defeated by Dionysius, *ib.* ; he leaves his troops to the mercy of the enemy, and retires to Carthage, where he kills himself, *ib.* *ii.* 406.
- Inarus, prince of the Libyans, is chosen king by the Egyptians, and supports their revolt against the Persians, *ii.* 79 ; he treats with Megabysus, general of the Persians, and surrenders himself, 80 ; he is delivered to the mother of Artaxerxes, and put to death, 81.
- Indathyrus, king of the Scythians, attacked by Darius, *i.* 540 ; answer of that prince to Darius, who sent to demand earth and water from him, *ib.*
- India, region of Asia, divided into two parts, *i.* 30, *iii.* 185 ; rarities of that country, 186 ; history of the commerce with that country from Solomon's time to the present, 240 ; singular dispute between two Indian women after the death of their common husband, *iii.* 284 ; expeditions of Semiramis into India, *i.* 320 ; conquest of India by Darius, 544.
- Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabæus, succeeds him in the government of Judea, *iv.* 234 ; he accepts of the high-priesthood from Alexander Bala, and aids that prince against Demetrius Soter, 236 ; he undertakes to drive the Greeks out of the citadel which they had in Jerusalem, 240 ; De-

- metrius Nicator orders him to attend him upon that affair, *ib* ; Jonathan aids that prince against the people of Antioch, 241 ; disgusted by the ingratitude of Demetrius, he declares for Antiochus Theos, *ib.* ; he suffers himself to be deceived by Tryphon, who puts him to death, 242.
- Ionæa, province of Asia Minor, *i.* 472 ; from whom it takes its name, *ib.*
- Ionians ; revolt of the Ionians against Darius, *i.* 545 ; they burn the city of Sardis, 548 ; their party is entirely ruined, 550 ; they throw off the Persian yoke after the battle of Salamin, and unite with the Greeks from thenceforth, *ii.* 50.
- Joseph, Onias's nephew is sent into Egypt, to make his uncle's excuse to Ptolemy, *iii.* 401 ; his credit with Ptolemy, 402 ; that prince gives him the farm of the revenues of Cœlosyria and Palestine without security, *ib.*
- Josiah, king of Judah, marches against Nechao, is defeated, and dies of a wound received in battle, *i.* 160.
- Iphicrates, Athenian, is sent to aid Corcyra, *ii.* 464 ; he is placed at the head of the Grecian troops in the expedition of Artaxerxes against Egypt, 494 ; he retires to Athens, where Pharnabasis causes him to be accused of making the expedition miscarry, 495 ; the Athenians employ him in the war with the allies, 504 ; he is accused by Chares, 507 ; and cited to take his trial, *ib.* ; means which he employed for his defence, *ib.* ; he re-establishes Perdiccas upon the throne of Macedonia, *iii.* 11 ; praise of Iphicrates, *ii.* 505 ; military discipline which he establishes among the troops, *ib.*
- Isagoras, Athenian, forms a faction in Athens after the expulsion of the tyrants, *i.* 509.
- Ismenius, polemarch of Thebes, is seized by Leontidas, and carried prisoner to the citadel, *ii.* 456 ; he is condemned and executed, 456.
- Isocrates, Greek orator ; services which he endeavoured to render the Athenians by his writings, *ii.* 508 ; his death, *iii.* 53.
- Ithobal, king of Tyre, when besieged by Nabuchodonosor, *i.* 332.
- Ithoma, a city of Messina, subjected by the Lacedæmonians, *i.* 94.
- Iturea, part of Cœlosyria, *iv.* 280 ; the Itureans are obliged by Aristobulus to embrace Judaism, *ib.*
- Juba I. king of Mauritania, is conquered by Cæsar, and kills himself, *i.* 309.
- Juba II. son of the former, is led in Cæsar's triumph whilst an infant, *i.* 309 ; Augustus restores him the dominions of his father, *ib.* ; works of learning ascribed to this prince, *ib.*
- Judas, called Maccabeus, third son of Mattathias, is chosen general by his father against Antiochus Epiphanes, *iv.* 121 ; he gains several great victories over that prince, 124, &c. ; he retakes the temple, and dedicates it anew to the service of God, 128 ; he gains new advantages over the generals of Antiochus Eupator, and over that prince in person, 228 ; repeated victories of Judas Maccabeus over the generals of Demetrius Soter, 233 ; he dies in battle fighting gloriously, 234.
- Judea, region of Syria, called also Palestine, *i.* 31.
- Jugurtha, Masinissa's grandson, is adopted by Micipsa, and associated with the other children of that prince, *i.* 304 ; he seizes the kingdom of Numidia, and puts one of the two princes (his brothers by adoption) to death, 305 ; he attacks the second, and besieges him in Cirtha, *ib.* ; the Romans declare war against him, 306 ; Jugurtha frustrates their efforts several times by bribes, *ib.* ; the Romans send Metellus first, and then Marius, against him, who both

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**LABOROSOARCHOD** ascends the throne of Assyria, and is killed soon after, i. 335 ; bad inclinations and cruelty of that prince, 369.

**Lacedæmon**, or **Sparta**, city of Peloponnesus, capital of Lacedæmonia.

**Lacedæmonians**, or **Spartans**, i. 471 ; kings of Lacedæmonia, 476 ; the Hereclidæ seize Lacedæmon, where two brothers, Eurysthenes and Procles, reign jointly, 477 ; the crown remains in those two families, ib. ; the Lacedæmonians take Elos, and reduce the inhabitants of that city to the condition of slaves, under the name of helots, i. 89 ; Lycurgus legislator of Sparta, 90 ; war between the Lacedæmonians and Argives, 91 ; first war between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, ib. ; defeat of the Lacedæmonians near Ithoma, 92 ; they take and destroy Ithoma, and grant peace to the Messenians, 94 ; second war of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, 95 ; the Lacedæmonians are defeated, ib. ; they demand a general of the Athenians, who gave them Tyrtæus, by profession a poet, 96 ; by his verses he inspires them with courage, and occasions their gaining a great victory, ib. ; the Lacedæmonians subject the Messenians, and reduce them to the condition of helots, ib. ; the Lacedæmonians deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides, i. 508 ; they undertake to reinstate Hippias, son of Pisistratus, but ineffectually, 509, 552 ; Darius sends to Sparta to demand its submission, 555 ; the Spartans put his heralds to death, ib. ; a ridiculous supersti-

tion prevents the Lacedæmonians from having a share in the battle of Marathon, 560 ; the honour of commanding the Greeks is decreed to them, ii. 24 ; 300 Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopylæ with Xerxes, 27 ; battle of Salamin, in which the Lacedæmonians have a great share, 33 ; honours which they render Themistocles after that battle, 37 ; the Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with the Athenians, cut the army of the Persians in pieces at the battle of Platæa, 44 ; they defeat the Persian fleet at the same time near Mycale, 49 ; they are for preventing the Athenians from rebuilding the walls of their city, 52 ; the haughtiness of Pausanias occasions their losing the command, 57 ; they send deputies to Athens to accuse Themistocles as an accomplice in Pausanias's conspiracy, 60 ; earthquake at Sparta, 89 ; sedition of the helots, ib. ; seeds of division between Sparta and Athens, 90 ; peace is re-established between the two states, 91 ; jealousy and difference between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, i. 99 ; treaty of peace for 30 years, 101 ; new causes of complaint and disunion, 102 ; open rupture between Sparta and Athens, 105 ; Peloponnesian war, 125 ; allies of the Lacedæmonians in that war, ib. ; they ravage Attica, 127 ; Lacedæmon has recourse to the Persians, ib. ; its deputies are seized by the Athenians, carried back to Athens, and put to death, 134 ; Platæa besieged and taken by the Lacedæmonians, 137, 145 ; they abandon

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- Lajus, king of Thebes, his misfortunes, *i.* 476.
- Lamachus is appointed general with Nicias and Alcibiades in the expedition of the Athenians against Sicily, *ii.* 169 ; his poverty makes him contemptible to the troops, 177 ; he is killed at the siege of Syracuse, 184.
- Lamia, courtesan to Demetrius ; her enormous expences, *iii.* 322.
- Laodice, wife of Antiochus Theos, is repudiated by that prince, *iii.* 389 ; Antiochus takes her again, 394 ; she causes him to be poisoned, and Seleucus Callinicus to be declared king in his stead, *ib.* ; she causes Berenice and her son to be put to death ; 395 ; Ptolemy puts her to death, 396.
- Laodice, daughter of Mithridates, king of Pontus, marries Antiochus the Great, *iii.* 447.
- Laodice, sister of Demetrius Soter, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia, is put to death by Ammonius, favourite of Alexander Bala, *iv.* 238.
- Laodice, wife of Ariarathes VI. acts as regent during the minority of six princes, her children, *iv.* 316 ; she poisons five of them, and prepares to do the same by the sixth, but is herself put to death by the people, 316.
- Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, marries first Ariarathes VII. king of Cappadocia, and afterwards Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, *iv.* 316 ; part which he makes her act at Rome before the senate, 362.
- Laomedon, one of Alexander's captains ; provinces which fell to him after that prince's death, *iii.* 246 ; he is dispossessed of them by Nicanor, who takes him prisoner, 266.
- Laranda, city of Pisidia, revolts against Perdiccas, who destroys it, *iii.* 260.
- Larissa, city of Thessaly, *i.* 471.
- Lasthenes, chief magistrate of Olynthus, puts that city in the hands of Philip, *iii.* 29.
- Lasthenes, of Crete, supplies Demetrius Nicator with troops for ascending the throne of Syria, *iv.* 238 ; his bad conduct makes that prince commit many faults, 239.
- Lentulus, consul, is ordered to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes upon the throne, *iv.* 411 ; he is prevented from executing that commission by a pretended oracle of the Sibyls, 412.
- Leonatus, one of Alexander's captains ; provinces that fall to him after that prince's death, *iii.* 246 ;

- he marches to the aid of Antipater besieged in Lamia, 250; he is killed in a battle, *ib.*
- Leonidas I.** king of Sparta, defends the pass of Thermopylæ, against the army of Xerxes, *ii.* 27; the Spartans erect a monument to him, *ib.*
- Leonidas II.** reigns in Sparta jointly with Agis, *iii.* 415; he opposes the design of that prince, 419; he is divested of the sovereignty, 420; he escapes to Tegea, 421; he is recalled, and replaced upon the throne, 422; he lays snares for Agis, 423; and puts him to death, 425; he obliges the wife of that prince to marry his son Cleomenes, 426; death of Leonidas, 427.
- Leontidas**, polemarch of Thebes, puts the citadel of that place into the hands of the Spartans, *ii.* 455; he imprisons Ismenius, who was his opponent, *ib.*; he sends persons to Athens to assassinate the principal exiles, 458; Pelopidas, at the head of the conspirators, kills him, 461.
- Leontium**, city of Sicily, *ii.* 168.
- Leontius**, Philip's general, insults Aratus grossly at a feast, *iii.* 473; he is security for the fine laid on Megaleas upon the same account, 474; Philip takes the command of his troops from him, and puts him to death, 476, &c.
- Leosthenes**, Athenian, informs Athens of Alexander's death, and animates them to throw off the Lacedæmonian yoke, *iii.* 248; he is placed at the head of the Greeks allied against Antipater, 249; his glorious exploits, *ib.*; he receives a wound at the siege of Lamia, 250; and dies soon after, 251.
- Leotychides**, king of Lacedæmonia, in conjunction with Xanthippus the Athenian, gains a famous victory over the Persians near Mycale, *ii.* 49.
- Leotychides**, son of Temæa, wife of Agis, passes for the son of Alcibiades, and for that reason is excluded the throne, *ii.* 178, 275.
- Leptinus**, brother of Dionysius, is put to flight by the Carthaginians with the fleet under his command *ii.* 402; he is banished, 412; and soon after recalled, *ib.*; he kills Calippus, Dion's murderer, 438; he surrenders himself to Timoleon, who sends him to Corinth, 449.
- Leptinus**, Syrian, kills Octavius the Roman ambassador, *iv.* 232; Demetrius delivers him up to the senate, 234.
- Leptinus**, Syracusan, Hiero's father-in-law, *iv.* 324.
- Lesbos**, island of Greece, *i.* 471; revolt of that island against the Athenians, *ii.* 139; the Athenians reduce it to its former obedience, 143.
- Levinus**, Roman consul, defeated by Pyrrhus, *iii.* 363.
- Levinus** (M. Valerius) is sent into Greece and Macedonia in quality of prætor, to oppose the enterprises of Philip, *iii.* 484; enemies he excites against that prince, *ib.* &c.
- Lewis XV.** king of France, glorious testimony which that prince renders the French nation, *iv.* 61.
- Lybia**, part of Africa: war of Lybia, or of the mercenaries, *i.* 225.
- Licinius**, consul, is sent into Macedonia against Perseus, *iv.* 146; he encamps near the river Peneus, 149; he is defeated in a battle, 151, &c.; and afterwards gains some advantage over Perseus, 155.
- Liguria**, province of Italy, *iv.* 201; its inhabitants subjected to the Marseillans by the Romans, *ib.*
- Lilybaum**, city of Sicily, besieged by the Romans, *i.* 221.
- Livius**, consul is sent into Cisalpine Gaul to oppose the entrance of Asdrubal into Italy, *i.* 261; he defeats that general in a great battle, 263.
- Lucretius**, prætor, commands the Roman fleet sent against Perseus, *iv.* 146; he besieges Haliartus, a city

- of Boeotia, and takes and demolishes it entirely, 151.
- Lucullus** commands the Roman fleet sent against Mithridates, and gains two great victories over that prince, iv. 372 ; he is elected consul, and charged with the war against Mithridates, 379 ; he obliges that prince to raise the siege of Cyzicum, 381 ; and defeats his troops, *ib.* ; he gains a complete victory over him, 382 ; and obliges him to take refuge with Tigranes, king of Armenia, 384 ; he sends an ambassador to demand Mithridates, *ib.* ; he regulates the affairs of Asia, *ib.* &c. ; he declares war against Tigranes, 386 ; and marches against him, 387 ; he besieges Tigranocerta, 388 ; he gains a great victory over Tigranes, 390 ; and takes Tigranocerta, 391 ; he gains a second victory over the joint forces of Mithridates and Tigranes, 393 ; his army refuses to obey him, 394 ; Pompey is sent to command in his stead, 397 ; Lucullus returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph, 398 ; his character, 395.
- Lusitania**, part of the ancient Spain, i. 190.
- Lycia**, province of Asia Minor, i. 30.
- Licortas**, Polybius's father is sent by the Achæans to Ptolemy Epiphanes, iv. 68 ; he is elected their general, and avenges Philopœmen's death, 78.
- Lycurgus**, son of Eunomus, king of Sparta, governs the kingdom as guardian to his nephew Charilaus, i. 481 ; he endeavours to reform the government of Sparta, and makes several voyages with that view, *ib.* ; on his return he changes the form of the government, 482 ; he goes to Delphi to consult the oracle, and dies voluntarily by abstaining from food, 488 ; reflections upon Lycurgus's death, *ib.*
- Lydia**, country of Asia Minor, i. 31.
- Lyncestes** (Alexander) is convicted of a conspiracy against Alexander the Great, and put to death, iii. 165.
- Lysandra**, Ptolemy's daughter, marries Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, iii. 348 ; after the death of her husband, she retires to Seleucus, and engages him to make war against Lysimachus, 349.
- Lysander**, Spartan, is appointed admiral by the Spartans, ii. 216 ; his influence with Cyrus the younger, 217 ; he beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus, 218 ; his envy of Callicratidas, sent to succeed him, 219 ; he commands the fleet of the Spartans a second time, and gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos, 228 ; he takes Athens, and entirely changes the form of the government, 230 ; he returns to Sparta, and sends thither before him all the gold and silver taken from the enemy, *ib.* ; he is sent to re-establish the thirty tyrants, 240 ; he strangely abuses his power, and suffers the Grecian cities of Asia Minor to consecrate altars to him, 242 ; upon the complaint of Pharnabazus, he is recalled to Sparta, 243 ; Lysander accompanies Agesilaus into Asia, 277 ; he quarrels with him, 279 ; and returns to Sparta, *ib.* ; his ambitious designs for changing the succession to the throne, *ib.* ; he is killed before Haliartus, which he was going to besiege, 286 ; some time after his death, the plot he had formed against the two kings is discovered, 292.
- Lysander** is elected one of the ephori at Sparta by the favour of Agis, iii. 418 ; he endeavours to make the people receive the ordinances of that excellent young king, *ib.*
- Lysiades**, tyrant of Megalopolis, renounces his power upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and makes his city enter into the Achæan league, iii. 414 ; they make him their captain-general three times successively, and then expel him, *ib.* ; he is killed in battle, *ib.*



**Lysias**, kinsman of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made governor by that prince of part of his dominions, and preceptor to Antiochus Epiphanes, iv. 123; Antiochus gives him the command of the army against the Jews, ib.; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 126; he possesses himself of the regency during the minority of Antiochus Eupator, 226; the government of Cœlosyria and Palestine is given to him, 227; he is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, ib.; he makes peace with the Jews, ib.; he is delivered up to Demetrius Soter, who puts him to death, 233.

**Lysias**, one of the Athenian generals, who defeated the Spartans near the islands Arginusæ, and at his return was condemned to die, ii. 221, 224.

**Lysias** of Syracuse, Greek orator, goes to settle at Thurium, ii. 121; he raises 500 men to aid the Athenians against the tyrants, 239; he

carries Socrates's discourse for his defence, 324; character of Lysias's style, ib.

**Lysicles** commands the Athenian army at Cheronæa, and is defeated by Philip, iii. 51.

**Lysimachus**, one of Alexander's captains; provinces which fell to him after Alexander's death, iii. 265; he enters into a league with Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Cassander against Antigonus, 289; treaty of peace between those princes, which is immediately broken, 297; Lysimachus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Seleucus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 323; they divide Alexander's empire amongst them, 324; alliance of Lysimachus with Ptolemy, 326; he takes Macedonia from Demetrius, 331; and divides it with Pyrrhus, 333; he obliges Pyrrhus soon after to quit it, 334; he marches against Seleucus, gives him battle, and is killed, 351.

## M

**MACCABEES**, martyrdom of them, iv. 119.

**Macedonia**, Macedonians, kingdom of Greece, i. 471; origin of the Macedonians, 473; commencement of their empire, 477; kings before Philip, iii. 10; reigns of Philip, 12; and his son Alexander, 73; Alexander's successors who reigned in Macedonia; Cassander, 324; Demetrius Poliorcetes, 330; Pyrrhus, 332; Lysimachus, 333; Seleucus, 351; Ptolemy Ceraunus, ib.; Sosthenes, 354; Antigonus Gonatus, 356; Demetrius, son of Antigonus, 398; Antigonus Doson, 402; Philip, son of Demetrius, 442; Perseus, iv. 103; Macedonia is declared free by the Romans, 181; and some time after reduced into a Roman province, 207.

**Machanidas** becomes tyrant of Sparta, iii. 486; endeavours to subject Peloponnesus, 502; Philopemen marches against him ib.;

**Machanidas** is defeated and killed in battle, 504.

**Magas**, governor of Cyrenaica and Lybia, revolts against Ptolemy Philadelphus, and causes himself to be declared king of those provinces, iii. 384; he causes overtures of accommodation to be made to that prince, and dies during the negotiation, 387.

**Magas** put to death by his brother Ptolemy Philopater, iii. 453.

**Magi**, directors of the worship of the Persians, i. 455; their religion, 456.

**Magnesia**, city of Caria in Asia Minor, i. 30; Artaxerxes gives the revenues of it to Themistocles, ii. 73.

**Mago**, Carthaginian general, is sent into Sicily to make war against Dionysius the elder, ii. 402; after various efforts he concludes a peace with that tyrant, 406; he kills himself, ib.

**Mago**, the former's son, commands

- the army of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and gains a great victory over Dionysius the elder, i. 200 ; the Carthaginians place him at the head of their troops in Sicily against Dionysius the younger, *ib.* iv. 446 ; he shamefully abandons the conquest of Sicily, i. 201 ; he returns to Carthage, and kills himself through despair, *ib.* ii. 447.
- Mago**, Carthaginian general, is placed at the head of the fleet sent to aid the Romans against Pyrrhus i. 210 ; he goes to Pyrrhus in order to sound his designs in respect to Sicily, *ib.*
- Mago**, Hannibal's brother, carries the news of that general's victory over the Romans at the battle of Cannæ to Carthage, i. 256.
- Mago**, Carthaginian general, taken prisoner in Sardinia, i. 259.
- Malli**, a people of India ; their war with Alexander, iii. 203 ; they submit to that prince, 204.
- Mamertines**, people originally of Italy seize Messina, i. 212 ; defeated by Pyrrhus, iii. 371 ; a division amongst them occasions the first punic war, i. 212, iv. 325.
- Manasseh**, king of Judah, is put in chains by the generals of Esarhaddon, and carried captive to Babylon, i. 329 ; obtains his liberty, and returns to Jerusalem, *ib.*
- Mandana**, daughter of Astyages king of the Medes, is given in marriage to Cambyses king of Persia, i. 352 ; she goes to Media, and carries her son Cyrus with her, 354 ; she return, into Persia, 356.
- Mania**, wife of Zenis, govens Ætolia, after the death of her husband, with admirable conduct, ii. 271 ; she is assassinated, with her son, by Midias her son-in-law, 272.
- Manius Curius**, consul, defeats Pyrrhus, and obliges him to quit Italy, iii. 373.
- Manius Aquilius**, consul, ends the war with Aristonicus, iv. 250 ; and enters Rome in triumph, 251.
- Manlius (L.)** is appointed consul
- with Regulus, i. 214 ; they jointly gain a great victory over the Carthaginians near Ecnoma in Sicily, 215 ; they go to Africa, *ib.* ; Manlius is recalled, *ib.*
- Marcellus (M.)** consul, is sent into Sicily to appease the troubles there iv. 338 ; he forms the siege of Syracuse, 343 ; the considerable losses of men and ships by the dreadful machines of Archimedes obliges him to turn the siege into a blockade, 345 ; he undertakes several expeditions in Sicily, 347 ; he makes himself master of Syracuse by means of his intelligence in it, 351 ; he abandons the city to be plundered, 352 ; honours which he pays to the memory of Archimedes, *ib.* ; Marcellus, at first as prætor, and afterwards as consul gains several advantages over Hannibal, i. 259.
- Marcius**, ambassador of the Romans in Greece, has an interview with Perseus near the river Peneus, iv. 143 ; he returns to Rome, 145 ; he is sent again into Greece, to regulate affairs there, 146.
- Marcius Philippus (Q.)** consul, charged with the war against Perseus, iv. 156 ; advances towards Macedonia, 157 ; which he penetrates into, and takes several cities there, *ib.* &c.
- Mardonius**, son-in-law of Darius, enters Macedonia, i. 551 ; his ill success obliges Darius to recal him, *ib.* ; he persuades Xerxes to invade Greece, ii. 10 ; Xerxes chooses him one of his generals, 20 ; and leaves him with a numerous army to reduce Greece, 36 ; makes advantageous offers to the Athenians, 39 ; enters Athens, and burns it, 41 ; defeated and killed at Platæa, 44.
- Maronæa**, city of Thrace ; cruel treatment of its inhabitants by Philip, iv. 73.
- Marius**, lieutenant under Metellus, supplants that general, and causes himself to be appointed general for terminating the war with Ju-

- gurtha, i. 307 ; whom he gets into his hands, and makes an ornament of his triumph, 309.
- Marius (M.) sent to the aid of Mithridates, iv. 378 ; taken by Lucullus, and put to death, 381.
- Marseilliens ; their embassy to Rome, iv. 201 ; their origin, 202 ; they settle in Gaul, ib. ; wisdom of their government, 203 ; attachment to the Romans, 204 ; obtain grace for Phocæa, which had been condemned to be destroyed, 251.
- Masinissa, king of Numidia, espouses the party of the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. 263, 280 ; aids the Romans against Perseus, iv. 142 ; marries Sophonisba, and poisons her, i. 281 ; contest between him and the Carthaginians, whom he defeats in battle, 283 ; at his death appoints Scipio Æmilianus guardian of his children, 290.
- Masistus, son of Darius and Atossa, is one of the six commanders of the army of Xerxes, ii. 20 ; tragical death of him and his children, 51.
- Mattathias, Jew, refuses to obey Antiochus, iv. 147 ; retires with his family to avoid the persecution, ib. ; his death, 121.
- Matho, in concert with Spendius, causes the mercenaries to revolt against the Carthaginians, i. 227 ; he is placed at their head, ib. ; takes Hannibal prisoner, and causes him to be hanged up in the room of Spendius, 230 ; taken by the Carthaginians, and executed, 231.
- Mausolus, king of Caria, enters into a conspiracy against Artaxerxes, ii. 498 ; he subjects the Rhodians and the people of Cos, 511 ; his death, ib. ; honour paid to his memory by Artemisia his wife, ib.
- Medes, ancient people of Asia inhabiting Media, i. 336 ; history of the kingdom of the Medes, ib. ; empires of the Medes and Persians united, i. 401 ; revolt of the Medes, against Darius Nothus, iii. 214 ; that prince obliges them to return to their duty, ib. ; manners of the Medes, i. 354 ; manner in which they contracted alliances, 341.
- Media, kingdom of Upper or Greater Asia, i. 30.
- Medon, son of Codrus, is placed at the head of the common people of Athens, under the title of Archon, i. 476.
- Megabates, noble Persian, occasions the miscarrying of the enterprise of the Persians against Naxos through jealousy of Aristagoras, i. 546.
- Megabysus, governor of Thrace for Darius, occasions the permission that prince had given Hystiæus to build a city in Thrace to be revoked, i. 543 ; he sends deputies to demand earth and water of Amintas, 543 ; insolence of those deputies at the court of Amintas, and revenge taken of them by the sons of that prince, ib.
- Megabysus, son of Zopyrus, is one of the six generals in the army of Xerxes, ii. 20 ; discovers the plot formed by Artabanus against Artaxerxes, 66 ; charged with the war against the Egyptians, 80 ; whom he subjects and promises to spare their lives, ib. ; in despair on seeing the Egyptians put to death, contrary to the faith of treaty, revolts against Artaxerxes, 81 ; defeats the two armies sent against him, ib. ; restored to favour, and returns to court, ib. ; Artaxerxes's jealousy of Megabysus at an hunting-match, ib. ; death of Megabysus, ib.
- Megacles, son of Alcman, puts himself at the head of one of the factions that divided Athens in Solon's time, i. 503 ; his marriage with Agorista, daughter of Clisibenes, ib. ; drives Pisistratus out of Athens, and soon after recalls him, 505 ; he is obliged to quit Athens, ib.
- Megaleas, Philip's general, devotes himself to Apelles, that prince's

- minister, iii. 476 ; he insults Aratus, in concert with Leontius, at the breaking up of a feast, 473 ; Philip imprisons him, and then sets him at liberty, ib. ; his bad designs against Philip are discovered, 476 ; he kills himself to avoid a trial, and the execution of sentence against him, ib.
- Megalopolis**, city of Arcadia ; Aratus makes it enter into the Achæan league, iii. 414.
- Megara**, city of Achaia, i. 479.
- Melitus**, Athenian orator, accuses Socrates, ii. 324 ; success of that accusation, 329 ; he is condemned to die, ib.
- Memnon**, Rhodian, reinstated in the favour of Ochus, against whom he had taken arms, ii. 517 ; advises Darius's generals from fighting the battle of the Granicus, iii. 81 ; defends Miletus, 85 ; and Halicarnassus, against Alexander, ib. ; he transports the inhabitants of that city to the island of Cos, ib. ; he advises Darius to carry the war into Macedonia, 88 ; that prince gives the execution of that enterprise to him, and makes him generalissimo, ib. ; Memnon besieges Mitylene, and dies before that place, ib.
- Memphis**, city of Egypt ; its foundation, i. 147 ; taken by Cambyses, 414 ; and afterwards by Alexander, iii. 128.
- Menander**, Athenian, colleague to Nicias in Sicily, ii. 189 ; whom he forces to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is worsted, ii. 192 ; partly the cause of the Athenian's defeat near Egospotamos, 227.
- Menander**, one of Alexander's captains ; provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, iii. 245.
- Mendes**, city of Egypt, ii. 479 ; a prince of that city disputes the crown with Nectanebus, ib. ; but is defeated by Agesilaus, ib.
- Menelaus** supplants his brother Jason, high-priest of the Jews, iv. 108 ; Jason drives him out of Jerusalem, 110 ; reinstated by Antiochus, 146
- Menes**, or Misraim, first king of Egypt, 146.
- Mentor**, Rhodian, is sent by Nectanebus into Phœnicia to support the rebels there, ii. 513 ; confounded on the approach of Ochus, 515 ; he puts the city of Sidon into that prince's hands, ib. ; Ochus gives him the command of a detachment of his army against Egypt, 516 ; Mentor's actions in Egypt, 517 ; Ochus makes him governor of all the coast of Asia, and declares him generalissimo of all the troops on that side, ib. ; Mentor's conduct in his government, ib.
- Mercury**, to whom Egypt was indebted for most of their arts, i. 137.
- Merodach-Baladan**, king of Babylon, sent to congratulate Hezekiah upon his recovery, i. 326.
- Messenia**, part of Peloponnesus, i. 91.
- Messenians** ; first war with the Lacedæmonians, i. 91 ; whom they defeat near Ithoma, 92 ; they submit to the Lacedæmonians, 94 ; second war with the Lacedæmonians, 95 ; are at first victorious, ib. ; then defeated, 96 ; and entirely reduced to the condition of the helots, ib. ; reinstated by the Thebans, ii. 472 ; troubles between the Messenians and Achæans, iv. 76 ; the Messenians put Philopœmen to death, 78 ; subjected by the Achæans, 78 ; fault of the Messenians, which occasioned all their misfortunes, ii. 473.
- Metellus** (L.) consul, commands against Jugurtha, i. 307 ; supplanted by Marius, ib. ; enters Rome in triumph, 308.
- Metellus** (Q. Cæcilius), Roman prætor, defeats Andiscus, iv. 207 ; sends him to Rome, ib. ; routs another adventurer, named Alexander, ib.
- Methone**, city of Thrace, destroyed by Philip, iii. 22.
- Micipsa** succeeds his father Masinissa in the kingdom of Numidia, i. 303 ; adopts Jugurtha his neph-

- ew, and makes him co-heir with the rest of his children, 304 ; his death, 305.
- Miletus, city of Onia, i. 550 ; cruelties acted there by Lysander, ii. 242 ; besieged and taken by Alexander, iii. 85.
- Milo, champion of Crotona, defeats the Sybarites, ii. 121 ; the extraordinary strength of that combatant, 124 ; voracity ; *ib.* ; and death, *ib.*
- Miltiades, Athenian tyrant of the Thracian Chersonesus, accompanies Darius in his expedition against the Scythians, and is of opinion that satisfaction ought to be made them, i. 542 ; an irruption of the Scythians into Thrace obliges him to abandon the Chersonesus, whither he returns soon after, 544 ; he settles at Athens, 552 ; he commands the army of the Athenians, and gains a famous victory at Marathon over the Persians, 556 ; moderate reward given him by the Athenians, 561 ; he sets out with a fleet to reduce the revolted islands, and has ill success in the isle of Pharos, *ib.* ; he is cited to take his trial, and has a great fine laid upon him, *ib.* ; not being able to pay it, he is put in prison, and dies there, *ib.*
- Mindarus, Spartan admiral, is defeated and killed in a battle by Alcibiades, ii. 212.
- Minerva, goddess, i. 33 ; feast at Athens in honour of her, *ib.*
- Mines ; product of mines was the principal riches of the ancients, i. 179.
- Minoos, first king of Crete, ii. 350 ; laws instituted by him in his kingdom, 350 ; hatred of the Athenians for Minoos, 354 ; cause of that hatred, *ib.*
- Minucius (M.) is appointed master of horse to Fabius, i. 250 ; he gains a slight advantage over the Carthaginians in that dictator's absence, 252 ; which procures him equal advantage with the dictator, *ib.* ; engages with disadvantages, out of which Fabius extricates him, *ib.* ; he acknowledges his fault, and returns to his obedience, *ib.* ; he is killed at the battle of Cannæ, 255.
- Mithridates I. king of Pontus, i. 202, that prince submits to Alexander, and accompanies him in his expeditions, iii. 86.
- Mithridates II. king of Pontus, flies to avoid the rage of Antigonos, i. 102.
- Mithridates III. king of Pontus, adds Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to his dominions, i. 102.
- Mithridates IV. king of Pontus, i. 102.
- Mithridates V. surnamed Evergetes, king of Pontus, aids the Romans against the Carthaginians, i. 103 ; the Romans reward him with Phrygia Major, iv. 251 ; his death, iv. 258.
- Mithridates VI. surnamed Eupator, ascends the throne of Pontus, i. 103 ; iv. 361 ; the Romans take Phrygia from him, *ib.* ; he possesses himself of Cappadocia and Bithynia, after having expelled their kings, iv. 362 ; he gives his daughter in marriage to Tigranes, king of Armenia, *ib.* ; open rupture between Mithridates and the Romans, 364 ; that prince gains some advantages over the Romans, 365 ; he causes all the Romans and Italians in Asia Minor to be massacred in one day, *ib.* ; he makes himself master of Athens, 366 ; two of his generals are defeated by Sylla, 372 ; and himself by Fimbria, *ib.* ; his fleet is also twice beaten, *ib.* ; he has an interview with Sylla, and concludes peace with the Romans, 375 ; second war of the Romans with Mithridates under Murena, 377 ; it subsists only three years, *ib.* ; Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius, 378 ; he prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 379 ; he seizes Paphlagonia and Bithynia, *ib.* ; the Romans send Lucullus and Cotta against

- him, *ib.* ; Mithridates defeats Cotta by sea and land, *ib.* ; he forms the siege of Cyzicum, *ib.* ; Lucullus obliges him to raise it, and defeats his troops, 381 ; Mithridates takes the field to oppose the progress of Lucullus, 382 ; he is entirely defeated and obliged to fly, *ib.* ; he sends orders to his sisters and wives to die, 383 ; he retires to Tigranes his son-in-law, 384 ; Tigranes sends him back into Pontus to raise troops, 388 ; Mithridates endeavours to console Tigranes after his defeat, 391 ; these two princes apply in concert to raising new forces, *ib.* ; they are defeated by Lucullus, 393 ; Mithridates, taking advantage of the misunderstanding in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions, 394 ; he is defeated on several occasions by Pompey, 399 ; he endeavours in vain to find an asylum with Tigranes his son-in-law, *ib.* ; he retires into the Bosphorus, 402 ; he puts his son Xiphares to death, 404 ; he makes proposals of peace to Pompey, which are rejected, 405 ; he forms the design of attacking the Romans in Italy, *ib.* ; Pharnaces makes the army revolt against Mithridates, who kills himself, 406 ; character of Mithridates, 407.
- Mithridates II. surnamed the Great, ascends the throne of Parthia, *iv.* 255 ; he re-establishes Antiochus Eusebes, 268 ; sends an ambassador to Sylla to make an alliance with the Romans, *iv.* 294 ; Mithridates III. king of Parthia, *ib.* ; Orodes his brother dethrones and puts him to death, *ib.*
- Mithridates of Pergamus brings troops to Cæsar in Egypt, *iv.* 421.
- Mitylene, capital of the isle of Lesbos, *i.* 471 ; that city is taken by the Athenians, *ii.* 142.
- Modesty ; traces of it among the ancients, *i.* 344.
- Mœris, king of Egypt, *i.* 147 ; famous lake made by him, 114.
- Molo is made governor of Media by Antiochus the Great, *iii.* 446 ; he makes himself sovereign in his province, *ib.* ; but being defeated he kills himself out of despair, 449.
- Monarchy ; original design of monarchy, *i.* 337 ; the best form of government, 424.
- Mummus, consul, is charged with the war in Achaia, *iv.* 209 ; defeats the Achæans, 211 ; takes Corinth, and demolishes it, *ib.* ; preserves the statues of Philopœmen, 213 ; his disinterestedness, *ib.* ; enters Rome in triumph, 215 ; goes on an embassy into Greece, Asia, and Egypt, 247.
- Murena commands the left wing of Sylla's army at the battle of Cheronæa, *iv.* 370 ; Sylla on setting out for Rome, leaves him the government of Asia, 376 ; he makes war against Mithridates, 377 ; and is defeated, *ib.* ; but receives the honour of a triumph, *ib.*
- Musæum ; academy of the learned, instituted under that name at Alexandria, *iii.* 338 ; description of the building called the Musæum 339.
- Music ; to what perfection carried by the ancients, *i.* 447 ; considered by the Greeks as an essential part in the education of youth, *ii.* 368, &c. ; theatre of music at Athens, *iii.* 95 ; prize of music, instituted at the feast of Penathenia by Pericles, *i.* 33.
- Mycenæ, city of Argos, *i.* 475 ; kings of Mycenæ, *ib.*
- Mycerinus, king of Egypt, *i.* 154 ; mildness of his reign, *ib.*
- Myscellus, Achæan general, founder of Crotona, *ii.* 120.

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- NABARZANES, general of the horse in the army of Darius, betrays that prince, *iii.* 151 ; he surrenders himself to Alexander upon his promise, 158.
- Nabis makes himself tyrant of Spar-

- ta, iii. 506 ; instances of his avarice and cruelty 507, &c. ; Philip puts Argos into his hands by way of deposit, 533 ; Nabis declares for the Romans against that prince, *ib.* ; the Romans declare war against him, iv. 13 ; Q. Flaminius marches against him, *ib.* ; besieges him in Sparta, 15 ; obliges him to demand peace, 16 ; and grants it him, *ib.* ; Nabis breaks the treaty, 21 ; he is defeated by Philopœmen, 24 ; and obliged to shut himself up in Sparta, *ib.* ; he is killed, 27.
- Nabonassar, or Belesis, king of Babylon, i. 326.
- Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares king of Media, besieges and entirely ruins Nineveh, i. 330 ; he associates his son Nabocodonosor with him in the empire, and sends him at the head of an army against Nechao, *ib.* ; his death, *ib.*
- Nabocodonosor I. or Saosduchinus, king of Nineveh, i. 330 ; attacked by Phraortes king of the Medes, 340 ; whom he defeats and puts to death, *ib.* ; sends Holofernes with a powerful army to revenge him upon the nations who had refused him aid, *ib.* ; entire defeat of his army, *ib.*
- Nabocodonosor II. is associated in the empire of Assyria by Nabopolassar, i. 330 ; defeats Nechao, and conquers Syria, and Palestine, *ib.* ; takes Jerusalem, and carries away a great number of Jews to Babylon, *ib.* ; reigns alone after the death of his father, ; *ib.* ; his first dream, 331 ; marches against Jerusalem, takes it, and carries away all its treasures, 332 ; defeats Pharaoh king of Egypt, returns to Jerusalem, and demolishes its fortifications, *ib.* ; causes himself to be adored as a god, *ib.* ; besieges Tyre, and takes it, *ib.* ; he makes himself master of Egypt, where he takes great spoils, i. 165 ; his second dream, 333 ; he is reduced to the condition of a beast, 334 ; recovers his former shape, reascends the throne, and dies, *ib.*
- Naupactum city of Etolia, taken by Acilius, iv. 36.
- Naxos, island, of the Cyclades, i. 545.
- Nearchus officer of Alexander, surveys the coast from the Indus to the bottom of the Persian gulf, iii. 207 ; he succeeds in his enterprise, 208.
- Nechao, king of Egypt, i. 160 ; he undertakes to open a communication between the Nile and the red sea, *ib.* ; able navigators, by his order, undertake to sail round Africa, and happily effect it, *ib.* ; marches against the Babylonians and Medes, to put a stop to their progress, *ib.* ; defeats Josiah king of Judah who opposed his march, *ib.* ; beats the Babylonians, takes Carchemish, and returns into his kingdom, *ib.* ; on his way he goes to Jerusalem, deprives Jehoahaz of the crown, and gives it to Jehoi-kim, *ib.* ; conquered by Nabocodonosor, who retakes Charchemish, 161 ; his death, *ib.*
- Nectanebus is placed by the revolted Egyptians upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Tachos, ii. 496 ; he is supported by Agesilaus, *ib.* ; by his aid he reduces the party of the prince of Mendes, *ib.* ; not being able to defend himself against Ochus, he escapes into Ethiopia, from whence he never returns, ii. 517.
- Nehemiah, Jew, cup-bearer to Artaxerxes, obtains permission to return to Jerusalem, and to rebuild its fortifications, ii. 83 ; he acquits himself of his commission with incredible zeal, *ib.*
- Neoptolemus, one of Alexander's captains ; provinces that fell to him after the death of that prince, iii. 245 ; he joins Antipater and Craterus against Perdikkas and Eumenes, 262 ; he marches with

- Craterus against the latter, *ib.* ; is killed in a battle, 262 ; character of Neoptolemus, 261.
- Neoptolemus, uncle of Pyrrhus, reigns in Epirus in his nephew's place, *i.* 104 ; Pyrrhus causes him to be killed, *ib.*
- Neriglissor conspires against Evil-merodach king of Assyria, and reigns in his stead, *i.* 334 ; he makes war against the Medes, and is killed in a battle, 365.
- Nero (C. Claudius,) consul, quits his province, and makes haste to join his colleague, in order to their attacking Asdrubal, *i.* 262.
- Nicanor, lieutenant-general of Antiochus Epiphanes, marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, *iv.* 123 ; Demetrius Soter sends him with an army into Judea to assist Alcimus, 233 ; he is killed in battle, *ib.*
- Nicias, general for the Athenians, makes them conclude a peace with the Lacedæmonians, *ii.* 160 ; opposes the war of Sicily in vain, 169 ; he is appointed general with Lamachus and Alcibiades, *ib.* ; his conduct on arriving in Sicily, 175 ; after some expeditions he forms the siege of Syracuse 180 ; the city is reduced to extremities, *ib.* ; the arrival of Gylippus changes the face of affairs, 186 ; Nicias writes to the Athenians the state of his condition, and to demand reinforcement, 188 ; two colleagues are appointed him, 189 ; who compel him to engage in a sea-fight, in which he is defeated, 192 ; as is also his land army, 194 ; hazards another sea-fight, and is again defeated, 195 ; determines to retire by land, *ib.* ; reduced to surrender at discretion, 200 ; condemned to die, and executed, 202.
- Nicocles, king of Paphos, submits to Ptolemy, *iii.* 292 ; makes an alliance secretly with Antigonus, and kills himself, *ib.*
- Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, refuses to desert with Theodotus, and continues to adhere to Ptolemy, *iii.* 453.
- Nicomedes I. king of Bithynia, *i.* 101.
- Nicomedes II. son of Prusias king of Bithynia, goes to Rome, *iv.* 200 ; kills his father, who had given orders to kill him, and reigns in his stead, *ib.* ; sets up a child under the name of Ariarathes, and causes the kingdom of Cappadocia to be demanded for him of the Romans, *iv.* 362, his death *ib.*
- Nicomedes III. ascends the throne of Bithynia, *iv.* 363 ; dethroned by Mithridates, *ib.* ; but reinstated by the Romans, *ib.* ; again expelled by Mithridates, *ib.* ; Sylla reconciles him with Mithridates, who restores him his dominions, 375 ; Nicomeds, in gratitude, at his death, leaves the Roman people his heirs, 379.
- Nile, river of Africa ; its sources, *i.* 116 ; cataracts of the Nile, *ib.* ; causes of its inundation, 117 ; time that its inundation continues, *ib.* ; measure or depth of its inundation, 118 ; canals of the Nile, *ib.* ; fertility occasioned by the Nile, 119 ; canal of communication between the two seas by the Nile, 121.
- Nimrod, founder of the Assyrian empire, *i.* 312 ; history confounds him with his son Ninus, *ib.* ; the scripture places him very near Abraham, and for what reason, 314.
- Nineveh, city of Assyria, its foundation, *i.* 314 ; description of that city, 315 ; kings of Nineveh, 326 ; its destruction, 330.
- Ninus, king of Assyria, often confounded with Nimrod, *i.* 314 ; builds Nineveh, *ib.* ; conquers the Bactrians, *ib.* ; marries Semiramis, has a son by her, and dies soon after, *ib.*
- Ninyas, son of Ninus, reigns in Assyria, *i.* 315 ; effeminacy and sloth of that prince, *ib.*
- Nitocris, queen of Babylon, *i.* 323 ; inscription on her tomb, 335.
- No-ammon, famous city of Egypt, *i.* 157.



Nobility ; what is truly so, iii. 288.  
Nomi, or governments of Egypt, i. 109.

Numidians, people of Africa, whose principal force consisted in cavalry, i. 280.

Nipsius, general of Dyonysius the

younger, relieves the citadel of Syracuse, closely besieged by the Syracusans, ii. 433 ; he burns and plunders part of the city of Syracuse, 434 ; Dionysius drives him out of Syracuse, of which he had made himself master, 441.

## O

OCHUS, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches at the head of a great army against Sogdianus, ii. 152 ; whom he takes and puts to death, *ib.* ; he ascends the throne of Persia, and changes his name from Ochus to Darius, *ib.* See Darius Nothus.

Ochus, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to the empire by the murder of his brothers, ii. 499 ; he ascends the throne of Persia, and takes the name of Artaxerxes, 503 ; cruelties which he commits, *ib.* ; successful expedition against Phœnicia, 513 ; Cyprus, 516 ; and Egypt, 517 ; he abandons himself to pleasures, 518 ; poisoned by Bagoas, *ib.*

Octavius (Cn.) prætor, commands the Roman fleet against Perseus, iv. 163 ; means which he uses to make that prince quit the island of Samothracia, which was deemed a sacred and inviolable asylum, 178 ; Perseus puts himself into his hands, 179 ; Octavius receives the honour of a triumph, 187 ; sent into Syria as ambassador, 227 ; where he is murdered, 232 ; the senate erect a statue to him, *ib.*

Olympiads, their epocha, i. 477.

Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to King Philip, and has by him Alexander the Great, iii. 16 ; Philip repudiates her, iii. 57 ; Alexander carries her to Epirus, *ib.* ; Polysperchon recalls her, and divides the government with her, 268 ; she causes Aridæus and his wife to be put to death, 278 ; Cassander besieges her in Pydna, takes her prisoner, and puts her to death, 280.

Olympia, city of Elis, famous for the temple of Jupiter, i. 49.

Olympic, solemn games of Greece, i. 49.

Olynthus, city of Thrace, ii. 454 ; the Lacedæmonians declare war against it, *ib.* ; it is reduced to surrender, ii. 456 ; Olynthus, upon the point of being besieged by Philip, implores aid of the Athenians, iii. 29 ; Philip makes himself master of that city by the treason of two of its citizens, and plunders it, *ib.*

Onias, son of Jaddus, high-priest of the Jews, succeeds his father, iii. 264 ; his death, 325.

Onias, high-priest of the Jews, venerable for his piety, iv. 103 ; refuses Heliodorus the treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, *ib.* ; deposed by Jason his brother, 106 ; his death, 108.

Onias, son of the former, retires into Egypt, iv. 237 ; and builds a temple there for the Jews, *ib.*

Ophellas, governor of Lybia and Cyrenaica, revolts against Ptolemy, iii. 299 ; he suffers himself to be seduced by Agathocles, and carries his troops into the country of the Carthaginians, 209 ; put to death by Agathocles, *ib.*

Orestes, Roman commissary, goes to Corinth, and notifies to the Achæans the decree of the senate for separating several cities from their league, iv. 293 ; he flies to escape the violence of the people, *ib.*

Oretes, governor of Sardis, puts Polycrates to death, and seizes the island of Samos, i. 419 ; himself put to death by Darius, 526.

Orodes, king of Parthia, iv. 294 ;

- war of that prince with the Romans under Crassus, *ib.* ; Orodes, jealous of Surena's glory by the defeat of Crassus, puts him to death, 309 ; grief of that prince for the death of his son Pacorus, 313 ; he chooses Phraates, for his successor, who puts him to death, *ib.*
- Orontes, son-in-law of Artaxerxes Mnemon, commands the land army of that prince in the war against Evagoras, *ii.* 298 ; he accuses Tiribasus falsely, 299 ; he terminates the war with Evagoras by a treaty of peace, *ib.* 299 ; Artaxerxes punishes him for his false accusation, 302.
- Orontes, governor of Mysia, joins in a plot against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays it, *ii.* 498.
- Orsaces, old general, accompanies Pacorus in his expeditions, by order of Orodes, *iv.* 310 ; killed in battle, 311.
- Orsines, governor of Passagardæ, re-establishes good order throughout the whole province, *iii.* 210 ; he goes to Alexander with magnificent presents, *ib.* ; put to death by the intrigues of the eunuch Bagoas, 211.
- Ostracism ; sentence amongst the Athenians, by which persons were condemned to banishment, *ii.* 363 ; an end put to it by the banishment of Hyperbolus, 165.
- Osymandias, king of Egypt, *i.* 146 ; magnificent edifices which he causes to be erected, *ib.* ; famous library founded by that prince, *ib.* ; his tomb surrounded by a circle of gold, 147 ; which Cambyses afterwards took away, *i.* 416.
- Otanes, Persian lord, discovers the imposture of Smerdis the magus by the means of his daughter, *i.* 421 ; he forms a conspiracy against that usurper, *ib.* ; re-establishes Syloson tyrant of Samos, 530.
- Oxydracæ, people of India, *iii.* 202 ; their capital taken by Alexander, 203 ; to whom they submit, 204.
- Oxyrinchus, city of the Lower Thebais, full of nuns and monks, *i.* 133 ; wonder related of that city by the Abbe Fleury, *ib.*
- P**
- PACORUS, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, enters Syria at the head of an army, and besieges Antioch, *iv.* 310 ; he raises the siege of that city, and is defeated in a battle, *ib.* ; returns into Syria, and is defeated and killed, 312.
- Palestine, province of Syria, *i.* 31.
- Palisades, difference of those used by the Greeks and Romans for fortifying their camps, *iii.* 535.
- Pamphylia, province of Asia Minor, *i.* 30.
- Panthea, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, *i.* 367 ; conduct of that prince in regard to her, *ib.* ; she brings over her husband to Cyrus, 368 ; her discourse with him before the battle of Thymbria, 377 ; her excessive grief upon the death of Abradates 381 ; stabs herself with a dagger, and falls dead upon her husband, *ib.*
- Paphlagonia, province of Asia Minor, *i.* 30.
- Parasanga, Persian measure, *ii.* 267.
- Parchment, invention of it, *i.* 141.
- Paris, Trojan, returning home with Helen, whom he had ravished, is carried by a tempest into one of the mouths of the Nile, *i.* 153 ; Proteus king of Egypt obliges him to leave Helen with him, and to quit Egypt, *ib.* ; Paris returns to Troy, *ib.*
- Parmenio, one of Alexander's generals, is placed at the head of the infantry in the expedition of that prince against the Persians, and does him great service, *iii.* 80 ; seizes the pass of Syria, and makes himself master of Issus, 95 ; Alexander confides the treasures laid up in Damascus, and the keeping of the prisoners to him, 104 ; Parmenio advises Alexander to accept Darius's offers, 120 ;

- surprise on seeing Alexander prostrate himself before the high-priest Jaddus, 122 ; Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Philotas, 166 ; his praise, *ib.*
- Parthia**, country of the Parthians, province of Upper Asia, *i.* 30 ; beginning of the empire of the Parthians, *iv.* 292 ; kings of Parthia, from Arsaces I. to Orodes, 293.
- Parysatis**, sister and wife of Darius Nothus, *ii.* 152 ; fondness of Parysatis for her son Cyrus, 234 ; she obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for him, and causes him to be sent back to his government, *ib.* ; cruelty and jealousy of Parysatis, 269 ; she poisons Statira, 270 ; Artaxerxes confines her in Babylon, *ib.*
- Pasargada**, city of Persia, submits to Alexander, *iii.* 149.
- Patisithes**, chief of the magi, places his brother Smerdis upon the throne of Persia, *i.* 420 ; he is killed with his brother, 422.
- Patroclus** commands the fleet sent to the aid of the Athenians, *iii.* 383 ; causes Sotades the satiric poet to be put to death, *ib.*
- Pausanias**, king of Lacedæmon, commands the Greeks jointly with Aristides at the battle of Platæa, *ii.* 42 ; his pride loses the Lacedæmonians the command, 57 ; his secret conspiracy with the Persians, 58 ; he is discovered, *ib.* ; and punished, 59.
- Pausanias**, king of Sparta, commands at the siege of Athens, *ii.* 229 ; obtains peace for the Athenians, 240 ; neglects to join Lysander, and is summoned to appear, 286 ; but refuses, and is condemned to die, *ib.* ; retires to Tegæa, and dies there, 287.
- Pausanias**, Macedonian prince, possesses himself of the throne of Macedonia, *iii.* 11 ; he is dethroned, *ib.*
- Pella**, capital of Macedonia, famous for the birth of Philip and Alexander, *iii.* 9.
- Pelopidas**, Theban ; his character, *ii.* 456 ; his friendship with Epaminondas, *ib.* ; he abandons Thebes, and retires to Athens, 455 ; forms the design of reinstating the liberty of his country, 458 ; elected *boeotarch*, 461 ; drives the garrison out of the citadel, *ib.* ; he causes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans, 464 ; gains an advantage over the Lacedæmonians near Tegyra, 465 ; commands the second battalion at Leuctra, 467 ; with Epaminondas, ravages Laconia, and advances to the gates of Sparta, 470 ; at his return he is accused and acquitted, 473 ; sent ambassador to the court of Persia, 475 ; his credit with Artaxerxes, *ib.* ; Pelopidas marches against Alexander tyrant of Phœræ, and reduces him, 478 ; he goes to Macedonia to appease the troubles of that court, and brings away Philip as an hostage, *iii.* 11 ; he returns into Thessaly, 478 ; is seized and made prisoner by treachery, 479 ; he animates Thebe, wife of Alexander, against her husband, 480 ; is delivered by Epaminondas, 481 ; Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, gains a victory over him, and is killed in the battle, 482 ; singular honours paid to his memory, 483.
- Pelopidas**, sent ambassador by Mithridates to demand satisfaction of the Romans, and to declare war against them in case of a refusal, *iv.* 363.
- Peloponnesus**, south part of Greece, now called the Morea, *i.* 470 ; Peloponnesian war, *ii.* 125.
- Pelops**, gives his name to Peloponnesus, *i.* 475.
- Pelusium**, the key of Egypt, *i.* 121.
- Perdiccas**, son of Amyntas II. made king of Macedonia by Pelopidas, *iii.* 11 ; killed in a battle against the Illyrians, *ii.* 478.
- Perdiccas**, one of Alexander's generals, receives that prince's ring a moment before his death, *iii.* 223 ; provinces which fell to him, 246 ;

- appointed guardian of Aridaeus, and regent of the empire, 245; puts Statira, Alexander's widow to death, 247; quells the revolt of the Greeks in Asia, *ib.*; puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, 259; marries Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, *ib.*; his unfortunate expedition into Egypt, 263; where he is killed, *ib.*
- Pergamus, city of Great Mysia in Asia Minor, i. 30; its kings, 101; it becomes a Roman province, *ib.* 250.
- Periander, king of Corinth, one of the seven sages, i. 477.
- Pericles, Athenian; his extraction, *ib.* 85; his education, *ib.*; care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the study of the sciences, and of exercising himself in eloquence, *ib.*; means that he employs for gaining the favour of the people, 88; reduces the power of the areopagus, 89; Thucydides is opposed to him, 93; he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, 94; envied by the Athenians, *ib.*; justifies himself and causes Thucydides to be banished, 95; he changes his conduct in respect to the people, *ib.*; his great authority, 96; his disinterestedness, 97; expeditions of Pericles into the Thracian Chersonesus, 100; about Peloponnesus, *ib.*; and against Eubœa, 101; he reduces the Samians, and demolishes their walls, *ib.*; causes aid to be granted to the people of Corcyra against the Corinthians, 102; troubles given him by his enemies, 108; determines the Athenians to enter into a war with the Lacedæmonians, 110; and to shut themselves up within their walls, 128; he prevents them from taking the field whilst their lands are ravaged, *ib.*; he makes the funeral oration of the Athenians killed during the campaign, 130; he is divested of the command, and fined, 133; his grief for the death of his son, *ib.*; the Athenians reinstate him, 134; and permit him to enrol his illegitimate son amongst the citizens, 135; death of Pericles, 136; his praise, *ib.*
- Pericles, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals who defeated the Lacedæmonians near the islands Arginusæ, is condemned with his colleagues to die, *ib.* 221.
- Perjury; punishment of perjury in Egypt, i. 127.
- Perpenna, Roman ambassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, *ib.* 168; delivered by Anicius, and sent to Rome with the news of his victory, 169; when consul, defeats Aristonicus and takes him prisoner, 250; he dies on his return to Rome, *ib.*
- Perseus, first king of Mycena, i. 475.
- Perseus, son of Philip, last king of Macedonia, conspires against his brother Demetrius, and accuses him to Philip, *ib.* 90, &c.; his speech against his brother, 91; removes from court to avoid his father's indignation, 102; takes possession of the throne of Macedonia after his father's death, *ib.*; puts Antigonus, whom his father had chosen his successor, to death, 136; he prepares for war with the Romans, *ib.*; he endeavours to gain allies, 138; he tries in vain to bring over the Achæans, *ib.*; the Romans are informed of his secret measures, *ib.*; Eumenes confirms them concerning his proceedings, *ib.*; Perseus endeavours to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, 140; and afterwards by poison, *ib.*; rupture between him and the Romans, 141; interview with Marcius, 143; war declared in form, *ib.*; Perseus advances with his troops near the river Peneus, 149; battle of the cavalry, in which he is victor, but makes an ill use of it, 151; makes proposals of peace, which are rejected, 153; he takes fright upon the arrival of the consul Marcius in Macedonia, and leaves him the passage open, 159; he resumes courage soon after, *ib.*; solicits aid on all sides, 166; his avarice

- loses him considerable succours, 167; he is entirely defeated by Paulus Æmilius at Pydna, 176; taken prisoner with his children, 179; and serves as an ornament in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, 186; death of Perseus, *ib.*
- Persepolis, capital of Persia, taken by Alexander, who burns the palace in a drunken frolic, *iii.* 149.
- Persia, province of Asia, *i.* 30; foundation of the Persian empire by Cyrus, 352; kings who reigned in Persia; Cyrus, *ib.*; Cambyses, 413; Smerdis the Magian, 420; Darius son of Hystaspes, 522; Xerxes, *ii.* 9; Artaxerxes Longimanus, 35; Xerxes, *II.* 69; Sogdianus, *ib.*; Darius Nothus, 151; Artaxerxes Mnemon, 233; Ochus, 503; Arsēs, 519; Darius Codomanus, *ib.*; destruction by Alexander, *iii.* 153; with the vices which occasioned that cline and ruin, *ib.* i. 460; manners and customs of the Persians, 423; education of the Persians in the time of Cyrus, 353; government of the Persians, 424; form of it monarchical, *ib.*; respect paid to them, *ii.* 424; manner of educating their children, 426; public council, 426; administration of justice, 428; attention to provinces, 431; invention of posts and couriers, 434; care of their finances, 436; of war, 438; entrance into the troops, *ib.*; arms of the Persians, 440; their chariots armed with scythes, 439; military discipline of the Persians, 440; their order of battle, 441; quality of the Persian troops in the time of Cyrus, and after that prince, 445; arts and sciences of the Persians, 446; their religion, 454; their marriages and burials, 458.
- Petalism, kind of sentence established at Syracuse, *ii.* 117.
- Peucestes, one of Alexander's captains, distinguishes himself at the siege of Oxydracæ, *iii.* 203; provinces which fell to him after the death of Alexander, 246; he opposes the progress of Pithon, and drives him out of Media, 278.
- Phalanx, Macedonian, description of it, *iii.* 13.
- Phaleucus is appointed general of the Phocæans during the sacred war in the room of Phyllus, *iii.* 24; he pillages the temple of Delphos, as the other had done, and is deposed, *ib.*
- Pharaoh, common name of the kings of Egypt, *i.* 147; one of them gives his daughter to Solomon in marriage, 155.
- Pharisees, powerful sect in Judea, *iv.* 263; persecution of Alexander Janneus and his party by the Pharisees, 281, &c.; end of that persecution, 285.
- Pharnabazus, governor of Asia, and general of the troops of Darius and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia, aids the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, *ii.* 212; he makes peace with the latter, 213; he sends complaints against Lysander to Sparta, 243; his whole province is ravaged by Agesilaus, 283; interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus, 284; the latter charged by Artaxerxes with the war against Egypt, 493; the enterprise miscarries through his fault 499.
- Pharnaces revolts against his father Mithridates, and is elected king in his stead, *iv.* 406; declared the friend and ally of the Romans, 407; driven out of Pontus by Cæsar, 423.
- Phebidas, Lacedæmonian, sets out from Sparta at the head of a body of troops against Olynthus, *ii.* 454; he seizes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, *ib.*; he is deprived of the command, and fined, 455.
- Phœnicia, or Phœnicia, province of Syria, *i.* 31; revolts against Ochus, *ii.* 513.
- Phila, Antipater's daughter, wife to Craterus, *iii.* 256; and after to Demetrius Poliorcetes, 304; kills herself with poison, 334.
- Phila, daughter of Seleucus, marries Antigonus Gonatus, *iii.* 356.

**Philitera**, founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, i. 101.

**Philidas**, one of the conspirators against the tyrant of Thebes, ii. 259.

**Philip**, son of Amyntas, II. king of Macedonia; his birth, iii. 11; Pelopidas carries him to Thebes, hostage, ii. 478, iii. 12; he flies from Thebes into Macedonia, and is placed upon the throne, 12; beginnings of his reign, ib.; he makes a cautious peace with the Athenians, 13; his first conquests, 15; Philip's care of his education, 16; he endeavours to subject Thrace, and takes Methone, at the siege of which place he loses an eye, 23; conciliates the amity of the Thes-salians, and expels their tyrants, ib.; he endeavours to seize the pass of Thermopylæ in vain, 24; he takes the city of Olynthus, notwithstanding the efforts of the Athenians to prevent it, 29; he declares for the Thebans against the Phocæans, and begins in that manner to share in the sacred war, 30; he lulls the Athenians with a false peace and false promises, 31; he seizes Thermopylæ, reduces the Phocæans, and terminates the sacred war, 33; he causes himself to be admitted into the councils of the amphictyons, 34; Philip, on his return into Macedonia, pushes his conquests into Illyrium and Thrace, 35; he enters into a league with the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians, for attacking Peloponnesus with their joint forces, 37; Athens declaring for the Lacedæmonians, breaks that league, 38; Philip makes an attempt upon Eubœa; 39; Phocion drives him out of that island, 40; Philip forms the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium, 42; Phocion obliges him to raise both these sieges, 44; Philip subjects Atheas, king of the Scythians, and the Triballi, people of Mosia, 45; by his intrigues he causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks in the

council of the amphictyons, ib.; he seizes Elatara, 47; the Athenians and Thebans enter into a league against him, 50; he makes proposals of peace, which are rejected by the advice of Demosthenes, ib.; battle of Chæronea, in which Philip gains a great victory 52; Philip, in the council of the amphictyons, causes himself to be declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that great expedition, 56; domestic troubles in his family, ib.; he repudiates Olympias, and marries another wife, ib.; he celebrates the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed in the midst of them, 57; memorable actions and sayings of Philip, 59; good and bad characters of that prince, 62, &c.

**Philip**, son of Demetrius, ascends the throne of Macedonia, iii. 442; his affection for Aratus, 461; he takes upon him the defence of the Achæans against the Ætolians, ib.; different expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans, 466; strange abuse that Apelles his minister makes of his confidence, 467; irruption of Philip into Ætolia, 471; he takes Thermæ by surprise, ib.; excesses committed there by his soldiers, ib.; prudence which he shows in his retreat, 473; troubles in his camp, ib.; punishment of the authors of them, ib.; irruption of Philip into Laconia, 474; new intrigue of the conspirators, ib.; their punishment, 476; Philip takes Thebes of Phthiotis from the Ætolians, 478; he concludes a peace with them, 479; he concludes a treaty with Hannibal, 481; he makes preparations for carrying the war into Italy, ib.; he is surprised and defeated by the Romans at Apolonia, 482; his change of conduct, ib.; his bad faith and irregularities, ib.; he causes Aratus to be poisoned, 483; he makes himself master of the city

- and castle of Lissus, 484 ; he gains several advantages over the *Ætoli*ans, 487 ; he is repulsed near the city of Elis, 488 ; different actions of Philip against *Sulpitius*, 494, &c. ; he makes peace with the Romans, 507 ; he enters into a league with *Antiochus* for invading the dominions of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 512 ; bad success of Philip against *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, 513 ; his cruel treatment of the *Cianians*, 514 ; he besieges and takes *Abydos*, 515, &c. ; he ravages *Attica*, 517 ; the Romans declare war against him, 518 ; he makes ineffectual attempts against *Athens*, *ib.* ; he endeavours to bring over the *Ætoli*ans, into his party, 519 ; he is defeated in a battle by *Sulpitius*, 522 ; he is reduced to abandon the defiles along the *Apsus*, 523 ; ineffectual interview of Philip with *Flamininus* concerning peace, 532 ; he is defeated by *Flamininus* near *Scotussa* and *Cynoscephale* in *Thessaly*, 538 ; the Romans grant him a peace, 540 ; Philip aids *Quintius* against *Nabis*, *iv.* 13 ; his conduct to *Scipio*, 38 ; Philip's causes of discontent from the Romans, 70 ; the Romans order him to evacuate the cities of *Thrace*, 72 ; he discharges his revenge upon the inhabitants of *Maronea*, 73 ; he sends his son *Demetrius* on an embassy to Rome, 74 ; the Romans send back his son with ambassadors, 85 ; Philip prepares to renew the war with the Romans, 86 ; plots of *Perseus* against *Demetrius*, 88 ; he accuses him to Philip, 90 ; upon a new occasion Philip causes *Demetrius* to be put to death, 100 ; he discovers his innocence some time after, and *Perseus's* guilt, 101 ; whilst he meditates the punishment of the latter, he dies, 102.
- Philip pretends himself son of *Perseus*, and seizes the kingdom of *Macedonia*, *iv.* 205 ; he is defeated and killed by *Tremellius*, *ib.*
- Philip, one of *Alexander's* captians ; provinces that fell to him after that prince's death, *iii.* 246.
- Philip, in concert with his brother *Antiochus*, destroys the city of *Mopsuestia*, to revenge the death of their brother *Seleucus*, *iv.* 267 ; he reigns in *Syria* with his brother *Demetrius*, after having driven out *Eusebes*, *ib.* ; his death, 269.
- Philip, favorite of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, made guardian to his son *Antiochus Eupator*, and regent of *Syria*, *iv.* 127 ; *Lysius* usurps that employment, and Philip returns into *Egypt*, 226.
- Philistus, the historian of *Syracuse*, pays a fine for *Dionysius*, *ii.* 390 ; who banishes him, 412 ; recalled by *Dionysius the younger*, 419 ; his death, 431 ; he may be considered as a great historian, *ib.*
- Philomelus, general of the *Phocæans*, sets them against the decree of the *amphictyons*, and determines them to take arms, *iii.* 21 ; he makes himself master of the temple of *Delphi*, and takes the riches of it to pay his troops, *ib.* ; being defeated in a battle, he throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, 22.
- Philopœmen, *Megalopolitan*, determines his citizens to reject the offers of *Cleomenes*, *iii.* 435 ; he signalizes himself at the battle of *Selasia*, 439 ; he distinguishes himself in the battle near the city of *Elis*, 488 ; his education, *ib.* ; his great qualities, *ib.* ; he is elected general of the horse by the *Achæans*, 490 ; he reforms the *Achæan* troops, 491 ; he is elected captain-general of the *Achæans*, 502 ; he gains a famous victory over *Macchani*das tyrant of *Sparta*, and kills him in the battle, 504 ; the *Achæans* erect him a statue, *ib.* ; honours which he receives in the assembly at the *Nemean games*, 505 ; *Philopœmen* is defeated at sea by the tyrant *Nabis*, *iv.* 23 ; he gains a famous victory over that tyrant near *Sparta*, *ib.* ; after the death of *Nabis* he seizes *Sparta*, and obli-

- ges that city to enter into the Achaean league, 27; he refuses the presents offered by the Spartans, 28; he secretly favours the Spartan exiles, and causes war to be declared against that city, 58; he makes himself master of Sparta, and reinstates the exiles, 59; he attacks Messena, and is taken prisoner, 77; the Messenians put him to death, 78; honours paid to his memory, 79; trial of Philopemen after his death, *ib.*
- Philotas**, son of Parmenio, commands a body of horse in Alexander's expedition against Persia, *iii.* 80; the pretended conspiracy for which he is put to death, 162, &c.
- Phocis**, part of Greece, *i.* 470; it is ravaged by Xerxes, *ii.* 30; the Lacedaemonians deprive the people of Phocis of the custody of the temple of Delphi, 101; Pericles restores it to them, *ib.*; the Phocians till the ground consecrated to Apollo, *iii.* 21; and are charged with sacrilege, and fined, *ib.*; they take up arms against the decree of the amphictyons, *ib.*; the latter makes war against the Phocians, 22; Philip reduces them, 34.
- Phocion**, general of the Athenians, drives Philip out of Eubœa, *iii.* 40; he makes that prince raise the siege of Perinthus and Byzantium, 44; he rejects the offers of Harpalus, 214; he endeavours in vain to prevent the Athenians from engaging in the Lamian war, 248; condemned to die by the Athenians, 269; his body is carried out of the territory of Attica, 270; the Athenians erect a statue to him, and inter his bones honourably, 273; character and praise, 271.
- Phraates I.** son of Priapatius, king of Parthia, *iv.* 293.
- Phraates II.** succeeds his father Mithridates in the kingdom of Parthia, *iv.* 293; thrice defeated by Antiochus Sidetes, 253; defeats Antiochus, who is killed in the battle, *ib.*; he releases Demetrius, 254; he marries one of that prince's daughters, *ib.*; defeated by the Scythians, and is killed in flying, 255.
- Phraates III.** surnamed Theos, king of the Parthians, *iv.* 294; he makes alliance with the Romans during the war with Mithridates, *ib.*; he espouses the part of Tigranes the younger against his father, *ib.*; death of Phraates, *ib.*
- Phraates IV.** is nominated king by his father Orodes, *iv.* 313; whom he puts, with his brothers and his son, to death, *ib.*
- Phraortes**, king of the Medes, succeeds his father Dejoces, *i.* 339; subdues Upper Asia, *ib.*; makes war against the Assyrians, *ib.*; he is defeated and put to death, 340.
- Phrygia**, province of Asia Minor, *i.* 31.
- Pindar**, Greek lyric poet, character of his works, *ii.* 115.
- Pisander**, Athenian, persuades the Athenians to recal Alcibiades *ii.* 208; the Athenians send him to treat with Tissaphernes, *ib.*; at his return he changes the form of government, 209.
- Pisander**, Lacedaemonian, is appointed by Agesilaus his brother-in-law to command the fleet, 283; is defeated by Conon near Cnidos, and killed in the battle, 289.
- Pisistratus**, Athenian, makes himself tyrant of Athens, *i.* 503; lenity of his government, 506; death, *ib.*; his character, *ib.*; library founded by him at Athens, *ib.*
- Pisuthnes**, governor of Lydia for Darius, revolts, *ii.* 153; is taken and put to death, *ib.*
- Pithon**, one of Alexander's captains, is made governor of Media by Antipater, *iii.* 264; he causes Philotas to be put to death, and takes possession of his government, 278; he is driven out of Media by Peucestes, and obliged to retire to Seleucus, *ib.*; Antigonus puts him to death, 289.
- Plataea**, city of Bœotia, *i.* 470; the Plataeans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, 561; they refuse to submit to Xerxes, *ii.* 22; the Greeks decree the prize of valour



- to them after the descent of Mar-  
donius, 45 ; institute an anniver-  
sary festival in honour of those  
who died in battle, 47 ; siege of  
Platea by the Thebans, 125 ;  
Platea besieged and taken by the  
Lacedæmonians, 137 ; the Plata-  
ans retire to Athens, *ib.* ; Alexan-  
der permits them to build their  
city, *iii.* 141.
- Plato retires to Mægara to avoid the  
rage of the Athenians, *ii.* 337 ;  
travels into Sicily, 399 ; his  
friendship with Dion, *ib.* ; second  
voyage into Sicily, 420 ; wonder-  
ful change occasioned by his pres-  
ence at the court of Dionysius the  
younger, *ib.* ; a conspiracy of the  
courtiers to prevent its effects,  
421 ; he quits the court and re-  
turns into Greece, 423 ; adven-  
ture that happens to him at Olym-  
pia, *ib.* ; goes a third time to Si-  
cily ; returns to the court of Diony-  
sius the younger, 424 ; Diony-  
sius differs with him, 425 ; he  
permits him to return into Greece,  
*ib.* ; his death, 518.
- Polybius, Greek historian ; his func-  
tion at the funeral of Philopœmen,  
*iv.* 78 ; chosen ambassador to  
Ptolemy Epiphanes by the Achæ-  
ans, 84 ; elected general of the  
horse, 156 ; deputed to the consul  
Marcus, 157 ; saves the Achæans  
a considerable expence, 160 ; he  
is included in the number of ex-  
iles, and carried to Rome, 194 ;  
his friendship with the second  
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Achaia, 213 ; zeal in defending  
Philopœmen's memory, *ib.* ;  
proof which he gives of his disin-  
terestedness, 214 ; he establishes  
good order and tranquillity in the  
country, *ib.* ; returns to Rome,  
and accompanies Scipio to the  
siege of Numantia, *ib.* ; after  
Scipio's death he returns to his  
own country, where he ends his  
days, *ib.*
- Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, *i.* 418 ;  
singular history of that tyrant, *ib.* ;  
his miserable end, 410.
- Polygamy allowed in Egypt, *i.* 128.
- Polysperchon, one of Alexander's  
generals, reduces a country called  
Bubacene, *iii.* 181 ; ridicules a  
Persian for prostrating himself be-  
fore Alexander, 183 ; for which he  
is put in prison, and soon after  
pardoned, *ib.* ; takes the city of  
Ora, 189 ; is appointed regent of  
the kingdom, and governor of  
Macedonia, by Antipater, 267 ;  
he recalls Olympias, 268 ; he  
endeavours to secure Greece to  
himself, 269 ; driven out of Ma-  
cedonia, by Cassander, 281 ;  
causes Hercules the son of Alex-  
ander and his mother Barsina to  
be put to death, 297.
- Pompey succeeds Lucullus in the war  
against Mithridates, *iv.* 397 ; his  
conduct upon arriving in his gov-  
ernment, 398 ; he offers Mithri-  
dates peace, 399 ; he gains sev-  
eral victories over that prince, *ib.*  
400 ; he marches into Armenia  
against Tigranes, who comes and  
surrenders himself to him, *ib.* ; he  
pursues Mithridates, and in his  
way subjects the Albanians and  
Iberians, 402 ; tired of following  
Mithridates, he comes to Syria,  
of which he takes possession, and  
puts an end to the empire of Se-  
leucides, 403 ; he marches to Pon-  
tus, 404 ; after having reduced  
Pontus, he returns to Rome, 408 ;  
he receives the honour of a tri-  
umph, *ib.* ; after his defeat at  
Pharsalia, he retires into Egypt,  
416 ; he is killed, *ib.*
- Pontus, kingdom of Asia Minor, *i.*  
102 ; chronological abridgment  
of the history of the kings of Pon-  
tus, *ib.*
- Porus, Indian king, defeated and ta-  
ken prisoner by Alexander, who  
restores him his dominions, *iii.*  
195.
- Pothinus, Ptolemy's minister, de-  
thrones Cleopatra, *iv.* 416 ; advi-  
ses the death of Pompey, *ib.* ; en-  
deavours to render Cæsar odious,  
417 ; he prevents the effect of  
Cæsar's decree, and makes the  
Egyptians take arms against him,  
419 ; Cæsar puts him to death, 420.

- Potidaea**, city of Macedonia, revolts against the Athenians, ii. 103; who besiege and take it, *ib.*; Philip takes it from the Athenians, iii. 15.
- Prexaspes**, confident of Cambyses, kills Smerdis by his order, i. 417; his base and monstrous flattery of Cambyses, 418; promises to declare Smerdis the Magus the true son of Cyrus, 421; speaks to the people from the top of a tower, and declares the contrary; then throws himself down, and is killed, *ib.*
- Protagoras**, brother of Nicocles, expels Evagoras II. from Salamin, and reigns in his stead, ii. 513; confirmed by Ochus, 516.
- Prusias I.** king of Bithynia, i. 101.
- Prusias II.** king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, declares for the Romans against Antiochus, iv. 39; services done him by Hannibal, *ib.* i. 275; who, notwithstanding, agrees to deliver him up to the Romans, iv. 80; desires the Romans to grant Perseus a peace, 160; his abject flattery in the senate, iv. 196; war with Attalus, 199; the senate obliges him to desist, and make satisfaction, 200; intending to put his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him, *ib.*
- Prytanis**, name of the chief magistrate of Corinth, i. 177.
- Psaumenitus**, king of Egypt, is conquered by Cambyses, who uses him with clemency, i. 167, 667; but striving to regain the throne, is put to death, i. 167.
- Psamutis**, king of Egypt, i. 162.
- Psammitichus**, one of the twelve kings in Egypt, is banished, i. 168; defeats the other eleven, and remains sole monarch, *ib.*; makes war against the king of Assyria, *ib.*; he besieges Azotus, and takes it, after a siege of 29 years, 159; he prevents the Scythians from invading Egypt, *ib.*; his method of knowing whether the Egyptians were the most ancient people of the earth, *ib.*
- Ptolemaida**, daughter of Ptolemy Soter, is married to Demetrius Poliorcetes, iii. 327.
- Ptolemy**, son of Amyntas II. disputes the crown with Perdiccas, i. 293; Pelopidas excludes him from the throne, iii. 11.
- Ptolemy**, son of Seleucus, is killed at the battle of Issus, iii. 96.
- Ptolemy I.** son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, takes several cities of India, iii. 188; he is dangerously wounded at the siege of a city of India, *ib.*; he is cured soon after, 206; provinces which fall to him, 245; causes the body of Alexander to be carried to Alexandria, 259; enters into a league against Perdiccas and Eumenes, 260; becomes master of Syria, Phoenicia, and Judea, 266; he takes Jerusalem, *ib.*; he forms a league against Antigonus, 289; seizes the island of Cyprus, 292; defeats Demetrius, *ib.*; and takes Tyre, 293; defeat of one of his generals by Demetrius, *ib.*; different expeditions of Ptolemy against Antigonus, 298; Ptolemy is defeated by Demetrius, who takes from him the isle of Cyprus, 305; Ptolemy assumes the title of king, 306; sends aid to the Rhodians, 313; Ptolemy allies himself with Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, against Antigonus and Demetrius, 322; these four princes divide the empire of Alexander amongst them, 324; Ptolemy retakes the island of Cyprus, 329; he renews the league with Lysimachus and Seleucus against Demetrius, 331; he abdicates the throne to his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, 336; death of Ptolemy Soter, 340; praise of that prince, *ib.*; famous library which he caused to be erected at Alexandria, 337.
- Ptolemy II.** surnamed Philadelphus, is placed by his father Ptolemy Soter upon the throne of Egypt, iii. 336; feast which he gives the people on his accession to the

crown, *ib.*; the commencement of his reign, 347; his resentment against Demetrius Phalerius, *ib.*; causes the holy scriptures to be translated into Greek, 357; cultivates the amity of the Romans, 382; his liberality to the Roman ambassadors, *ib.*; sends aid to the Athenians, 383; revolt of Magas, 384; Ptolemy quells a conspiracy formed against him, *ib.*; works of Ptolemy of advantage to commerce 386; comes to an accommodation with Magas, 387; war between Ptolemy and Antiochus, *ib.*; peace between those princes, 389; death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 392; character and qualities of that prince, *ib.*

**Ptolemy III.** surnamed Evergetes, succeeds his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, *iii.* 392; for the death of his sister Berenice, puts Laodice to death, and seizes part of Asia, 396; in returning from that expedition, he goes to Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices there to the God of Israel, 397; league of Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus Callinicus against Ptolemy, 398; the latter comes to an accommodation with Seleucus, *ib.*; he causes Antiochus to be seized, and imprisons him, 400; he augments the library of Alexandria, *ib.*; he gives Joseph, the nephew of Onias, the farm of the revenues of the provinces of Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria, 402; arrival of Cleomenes at the court of Egypt, 443; death of Ptolemy Evergetes, *ib.*; Ptolemy's liberality to the Rhodians, 444.

**Ptolemy IV.** surnamed Philopater, ascends the throne of Egypt after the death of Ptolemy Evergetes, 445; injustice and cruelty of that prince to Cleomenes, 463; Antiochus the Great undertakes to recover Cœlosyria from Ptolemy, 452; short truce between those two princes, *ib.*; Ptolemy gains a victory over Antiochus at Raphia, 455; he comes to Jerusalem, 456; rage and revenge of Ptole-

my against the Jews, because they refuse to let him enter into the sanctuary, *ib.*; he grants Antiochus peace, *ib.*; the Egyptians revolt against Philopater, 458; that prince gives himself up to all manner of excesses, *ib.*; he puts Arsinoë his wife and sister to death, *ib.*; he dies; worn out with debauches, 510.

**Ptolemy V.** called Epiphanes, at the age of five years ascends the throne of Egypt, after the death of Philopater, *iii.* 511; Antiochus the Great, and Philip enter into a league to invade his dominions, 512; Ptolemy is put under the guardianship of the Romans, 516; Aristomenes the young king's guardian for the Romans, takes Palestine and Cœlosyria from Antiochus, 525; Antiochus takes those provinces, 526; Scopas's conspiracy against Ptolemy frustrated by Aristomenes, *iv.* 11; Ptolemy is declared of age, *ib.*; he marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 21; he makes an alliance with the Achæans, *iv.* 66; he treats Hyrcanus, the son of Joseph, with great marks of favour and friendship, *ib.*; he takes a disgust to Aristomenes, and puts him to death, 11, 67; he abandons himself to all sorts of excesses, *ib.*; the Egyptians form several conspiracies against him, *ib.*; Ptolemy chooses Polycrates for his prime minister, *ib.*; with that minister's assistance, he gets the better of the rebels, 68; he renews the alliance with the Achæans, *ib.*; he forms the design of attacking Seleucus, 84; the principal persons of his court poison him, *ib.*

**Ptolemy VI.** called Philometer, at six years old succeeds his father Ptolemy Epiphanes, *iv.* 84; causes of war arise between Ptolemy and Antiochus Epiphanes, 106; coronation of Ptolemy, 107; he is defeated by Antiochus, 108; he loses a second battle against Antiochus, and is taken prisoner, 109.

the Alexandrians elect his brother Ptolemy Evergetes II. surnamed also Physcon in his place, 111; Antiochus replaces Philometer in appearance upon the throne, 113; the two brothers unite, and reign jointly, *ib.*; the Romans prevent Antiochus from disturbing them, 114; Philometer is dethroned by his brother Physcon, 229; he goes to Rome to implore the senate's clemency, *ib.*; the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 230; new differences arise between Philometer and Physcon, *ib.*; Philometer refuses to evacuate the island of Cyprus, 231; he gains a victory over Physcon, and takes him prisoner, *ib.*; he pardons him, and restores him his dominions, *ib.*; he marries his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander Bala, 237; he permits Onias to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, *ib.*; he marches to the aid of Alexander his son-in-law, attacked by Demetrius, 238; Ammonius's plot against Ptolemy, *ib.*; upon the refusal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Philometer takes his daughter from him, gives her to Demetrius, and aids him in re-ascending his father's throne, *ib.*; Philometer's death, 239.

Ptolemy VII. called Evergetes II. and Physcon, son of Ptolemy Eupiphanes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt in his eldest brother's stead, *iv.* 111; the two brothers unite and reign jointly, 113; they prepare to defend themselves against the attacks of Antiochus, *ib.*; the Romans oblige that prince to leave those two princes in tranquillity, 114; Physcon dethrones Philometer, 229; the Romans divide the kingdom between the two brothers, 230; Physcon dissatisfied with the part given him, goes to Rome, and demands to be put in possession of the island of Cyprus, *ib.*; the Romans adjudge it to him, *ib.*; the people of Cy-

renaica, oppose Physcon's entrance into their country, 231; that prince re-establishes himself in that country, and draws attempts against his life upon himself by his bad conduct, *ib.*; he makes a second voyage to Rome, and carries his complaints against his brother, *ib.*; he undertakes to make himself master of the island of Cyprus, *ib.*; Philometer beats and takes him prisoner, and afterwards generously restores him his dominions, *ib.*; Physcon marries Cleopatra, the widow of Philometer, ascends the throne of Egypt, and puts his brother's son to death, 239; Physcon's excess of folly and debauchery, 246, &c. Scipio Africanus the younger goes to that prince's court, 247; Physcon puts away Cleopatra, and marries her daughter by Philometer, named also Cleopatra, 255; horrible cruelties which he commits in Egypt, *ib.*; a general revolt obliges him to quit that kingdom, *ib.*; new cruelties of Physcon, *ib.*; he returns into Egypt, and re-ascends the throne, 256; he supports the impostor Alexander Zebina, and lends him an army to place him upon the throne of Syria, *ib.*; he gives his daughter Tryphena in marriage to Grypus, 258; Physcon's death, 259.

Ptolemy VIII. called Lathyrus, succeeds his father Physcon, *iv.* 259; Cleopatra his mother obliges him to repudiate his eldest sister, and marry Selena the youngest, *ib.*; Lathyrus aids Antiochus the Cypzician against John Hyrcanus, 261; Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from Lathyrus, and obliges him to quit Egypt, and content himself with the island of Cyprus, 264; Lathyrus sends an army to besiege Ptolemais, and marches in person against Alexander king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory, *ib.*; barbarous action of Lathyrus after the battle, *ib.*; he raises the siege of Ptolemais, *ib.*; he is recalled by the

- Alexandrians, and replaced upon the throne of Egypt, 263; a rebellion rises up against him in Egypt, 269; Lathyrus destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, *ib.*; he dies soon after, *ib.*
- Ptolemy IX. king of Egypt. See Alexander, son of Physcon.
- Ptolemy X. son of Alexander I. king of Egypt. See Alexander II.
- Ptolemy XI. surnamed Auletes, is placed by the Alexandrians upon the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander II. *iv.* 273; he causes himself to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, 410; he oppresses his subjects in consequence with taxations, and is dethroned, *ib.*; the Alexandrians substitute Berenice in his place, *ib.*; he goes to Rome and with money gains the suffrages of the principal persons of the commonwealth for his re-establishment, 411; he causes most of the ambassadors sent by the Egyptians to Rome to justify their revolt to be murdered, *ib.*; an oracle of the sybil is trumped up against him, *ib.*; Gabinius reinstates him upon the throne, 414; Auletes puts his daughter Berenice to death, *ib.*; his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, *ib.*; death of Auletes, 415.
- Ptolemy XII. son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns after his father with his sister Cleopatra, *iv.* 415; he expels Cleopatra, *ib.*; he causes Pompey to be assassinated by the advice of Theodotus, 416; Cæsar makes himself judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 418; he secures the person of Ptolemy, *ib.*; he releases him, 421; Ptolemy renews the war with Cæsar, *ib.*; he is defeated, and drowned in the Nile, endeavouring to escape, 422.
- Ptolemy I. king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, *iv.* 276; he poisons himself, *ib.*
- Ptolemy II. son of Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cæsar, *iv.* 419; also of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 422; she poisons Ptolemy, 423.
- Ptolemy, son of Anthony and Cleopatra, is proclaimed king of Syria by Anthony, *iv.* 429.
- Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenaica, *iv.* 259; he leaves his kingdom by will to the Romans, 266.
- Ptolemy Ceraunus, or Thunderer, son of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court, and retires to Lysimachus, and then to Seleucus, *iii.* 337; he engages the latter in a war with Lysimachus, 349; he assassinates Seleucus, and seizes his dominions, 351; marries his sister Arsinoë, widow of Lysimachus, and causes his two children by her to be murdered, 352; banishes her, *ib.*; and is soon after killed by the Gauls, 353.
- Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometer, revolts, and gives the possession of it to Antiochus Epiphanes, *iv.* 109; Antiochus gives him a share in his confidence, and the government of Coelosyria and Palestine, *ib.*; marches against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, 124; becomes a friend to the Jews, 226; Antiochus Epiphanes deprives him of his government, *ib.*; and in despair he poisons himself, *ib.*
- Pydæa, city of Macedonia, is subjected by Philip, *iii.* 15.
- Pyrrhus, son of Æcides, king of Epirus, flies from the fury of the revolters, *iii.* 327; he is re-established upon the throne of Epirus by Glaucius, king of Illyrium, *ib.*; the Molossians revolt against him, and plunder all his riches, 328; he retires to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, *ib.*; he distinguishes himself at the battle of Ipsus, 323; he goes to Egypt as an hostage for Demetrius, 328; he marries Antigone, daughter of Berenice, *ib.*; Ptolemy gives him a fleet and money, of which he makes use for repossessing himself

of his dominions, *ib.* ; Pyrrhus takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king of it, 332 ; he divides that kingdom with Lysimachus, 333 ; he is soon obliged to quit it, 334 ; the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, 359 ; that prince goes to Italy, 361 ; he defeats the consul Livinus, 363 ; he causes proposals of peace to be made to the Romans, 364 ; conversation of Pyrrhus with Fabricius, 365 ; Pyrrhus gains a second advantage over the Romans, 370 ; expeditions of Pyrrhus in Sicily, 371 ; he plunders the temple of Proserpine in the country of the Locri-

ans, *ib.* ; he is defeated by the Romans, 374 ; he returns into Epirus, *ib.* ; he throws himself into Macedonia, and takes possession of it for a time, after having defeated Antigonus, 375 ; expedition of Pyrrhus into Peloponnesus, *ib.* ; he besieges Sparta ineffectually, 378 ; he is killed at the siege of Argos, 380 ; good and bad qualities of Pyrrhus, 381. Pythagoras, philosopher, *ii.* 119 ; goes to Italy, and settles at Crotona, where he opens a school for philosophy, *ib.* ; noviciate of silence which he made his disciples observe, *ib.*

## R

RAMASSES Miamum, king of Egypt, makes great slaves of the Israelites, *i.* 148.

Regulus (M. Attilius,) consul, defeats at sea the Carthaginians, *i.* 214 ; goes to Africa, 215 ; the Romans continue him in the command as proconsul, *ib.* ; defeats the Carthaginians, and seizes Tunis, 216 ; puffed up with success, he is defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, 218 ; who send him to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners, 220 ; at his return they put him to a cruel death, *ib.*

Religion ; origin and source of the religion of the ancients, *i.* 31, &c.

Reomithras, one of the chiefs of the revolt against Artaxerxes Mneumon, delivers up the principal rebels to make his own peace, and keeps the money which he had brought from Egypt for the coalition, *ii.* 498.

Resurrection of the body ; the ancients had a confused notion of it, *ii.* 223.

Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt, *i.* 153.

Rhegium, city of Sicily, forms a league against Dionysius, *ii.* 396 ; it makes peace with that tyrant, *ib.* ; its refusal to give him a wife, and the insolent answer with which that refusal is attended, 399 ; Dionysius besieges it out of re-

venge, 406 ; miserable fate of that city, *ib.* ; a Roman legion, by the aid of the Mamertines, comes and settles there, after having expelled the inhabitants, *i.* 212 ; the Romans re-establish the inhabitants, *ib.*

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- Thebes, city of Bœotia in Greece ; the Thebans, besiege Platæa, *ii.* 125 ; defeat the Athenians near Delium, 156 ; they give refuge to the Athenians, who fled after the taking of their city by Lysander, 239 ; they enter into a league against the Lacedæmonians, 286 ; their valour at the battle of Cheronæa, 289 ; they are compelled by the treaty of Antalcides to give the cities of Bœotia their liberty, 453 ; Thebes falls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, 455 ; Pelopidas reinstates its liberty, 461 ; the Thebans gain a considerable advantage over the Lacedæmonians, near Tegyra, 465 ; they destroy Platæa and Thespiæ, *ib.* ; they defeat the Lacedæmonians, and put them to flight at the battle of Leuctra, 469 ; they ravage Laconia, and advance to the gates of Sparta, 472 ; they send Pelopidas to the court of Persia to gain its friendship, 475 ; they make Alexander, tyrant of Phœnæ, submit, 478.
- The Thebans make a second attempt against Sparta, *ii.* 484 ; and gain the battle of Mantinea, 487 ; they aid Artabasus against the king of Persia, 504 ; call in Philip against the Phœcians, *iii.* 30 ; the Thebans, Messenians, and Argives, enter into an alliance with Philip to attack Peloponnesus, 37 ; the Thebans join the Athenians, against Philip, 50 ; defeated near Cheronæa, 52 ; Philip puts a garrison into their city, *ib.* ; and the Thebans, after his death put part of the garrison to the sword, 74 ; for which Alexander destroys their city, 76 ; restored by Cassander, *iii.* 281 ; make an alliance with the Romans against Perseus, *iv.* 144 ; and surrender themselves to the Romans, 154 ; Sylla deprives them of half of their territory, 374.
- Themistocles, Athenian, distinguishes himself at the battle of Marathon, *i.* 550 ; he removes Epicycles from the command, and causes himself to be elected general in his stead, *ii.* 23 ; supports the decree to recal Aristides, *ib.* ; resigns the command of the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, determines the Athenians to abandon their city, 31 ; and the Greeks to fight in the strait of Salamin, 33 ; the prize of wisdom decreed to him after the victory at Salamin, 37 ; he reinstates the works of Athens, and fortifies the Piræus, 53 ; black design which he conceives for supplanting the Lacedæmonians, 54 ; he is banished Athens, 59 ; the Athenians and Lacedæmonians uniting against him as an accomplice in the conspiracy of Pausanias, he takes refuge with Admetus, 60 ; he retires to Artaxerxes, 70 ; his great credit with that prince, 73 ; he kills himself, 78 ; character of Themis-

- toles, 79, &c. ; his great moderation on many occasions, *ib.*
- Theodotus, governor of Bactriana, revolts against Antiochus, and gets himself declared king, *iii.* 388 ; he dies, 400.
- Theodotus, son of the former, succeeds his father, and makes a league with Arsaces, *iii.* 400.
- Theodotus, Ætolian, governor of Cælosyria for Ptolemy, defends it against Antiochus, whom he obliges to retire, *iii.* 448 ; he is accused, and obliged to go to the court of Egypt to give an account of his conduct, 452 ; in resentment for that affront he declares for Antiochus, and puts the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais into his hands, 453 ; enters the camp of Ptolemy in the night with design to kill him, 455 ; but fails and escapes to his camp, *ib.*
- Theopompus, king of Sparta, establishes the ephori, *i.* 482 ; commands against the Argives, 90 ; and against the Messenians, 92 ; he is defeated, and put to death, by Aristomus, 94.
- Theramenes, Athenian general, charged with the care of burying the dead after the battle of the Arginusæ, *ii.* 222 ; not being able to execute that order, he makes the other generals responsible for it, and accuses them at Athens, 223 ; he is deputed to Lysander during the siege of Athens, 230 ; opposes the violence of his colleagues, and draws their hatred upon himself, 238 ; accused by Critas, and put to death, 239.
- Thermæ, capital of Ætolia, taken by surprise and ravaged by Philip, *iii.* 473.
- Thermopylæ, pass of mount Cæta, in Thessaly, *ii.* 25.
- Theseus, king of Athens, *i.* 476 ; dies in the island of Scyros, whither he had been obliged to fly, *ii.* 74 ; Cimon brings his bones to Athens, *ib.*
- Thespis, Greek poet, considered as the inventor of tragedy, *i.* 516.
- Thessaly, province of the ancient Greece, *i.* 471 ; the Thessalians submit to Xerxes, *ii.* 25 ; they implore the aid of the Thebans against Alexander of Phœæ, 481 ; Pelopidas delivers them from his power, *ib.* ; they have recourse to Philip against their tyrants, *iii.* 23 ; that prince delivers them, *ib.*
- Thirty ; council of thirty established at Lacedæmon, *i.* 482 ; thirty tyrants established at Athens by Lysander, *ii.* 230 ; cruelties which they commit in that city, 238 ; Thrasybulus drives them out of Athens, 240 ; they endeavour to reinstate themselves, and are all put to the sword, *ib.*
- Thrace, province of Europe, *i.* 542.
- Thrasybulus, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuse after Hiero's death, *ii.* 117 ; but is dethroned for his cruelty, *ib.*
- Thrasibulus, general of the Athenians, *ii.* 209 ; causes Alcibiades to be deposed, 218 ; he quits Athens, to avoid the cruelty of the thirty tyrants, 239 ; whom he expells from that city, and reinstates its liberty, 240.
- Thucydides, Greek historian, sent to the aid of Amphipolis, *ii.* 155 ; he is banished for suffering that city to be taken, 156.
- Thurium, city of Sicily ; its foundation, *ii.* 120.
- Tiglath-Pilezer, king of Nineveh, aids Ahaz against the kings of Syria and Israel, *i.* 326.
- Tigranes, son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, released by the Parthians, and placed upon the throne, *iv.* 267 ; accepts the crown of Syria, 269 ; marries Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, 362 ; invades the kingdom of Cappadocia, *ib.* ; gives Mithridates refuge, 384 ; the Romans declare war against him, 386 ; defeated by Lucullus, 390 ; he raises new troops in concert with Mithridates, 391 ; is defeated a second time, 393 ; Pompey marches against him, and finds him at war with his son, 400 ; Tigranes submits his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey, 402 ; who leaves him part of his dominions, 403.
- Tigranes, the former's son, makes war with his father, *iv.* 400 ; put himself under the protection of Pompey,

ib.; but not complying with his decree, he endeavours to fly, 401; Pompey reserves him for his triumph, ib.

**Timoleon**, Corinthian, sacrifices his brother Timophanes to his country, ii. 442; he is sent to the aid of Syracuse, ib.; i. 201; he eludes the vigilance of the Carthaginians by a wise stratagem, ii. 444; gains an advantage over the Carthaginians and Ieetes, near the city of Adramon, 445; he enters Syracuse, ib.; Dionysius surrenders himself to him, ib.; Timoleon sends him to Corinth, ib.; he gains several victories over the Carthaginians, ib. &c.; he re-establishes the liberty of Syracuse, and institutes wise laws there, 446; he frees the other cities of Sicily from the tyranny, 449; he gains a great victory over the Carthaginians, ib.; he is accused and cited to answer, ib.; he quits his authority, and passes the rest of his life in retirement, 450; he dies in it, ib.; great honours rendered his memory, ib.; his praise, ib.

**Timotheus**, son of Conon, is sent by the Athenians to aid the Thebans, ii. 464; he ravages the coasts of Laconia, and makes himself master of Corcyra, ib.; he is employed by the Athenians in the war against the allies, 506; he is accused by Chares, and dies at Chalcis, 507; his praise, ib.

**Timotheus**, general of Antiochus Eupator, is defeated by Judas Maccabeus, iv. 125; he is defeated a second time by the same captain in the reign of Antiochus Eupator, 228.

**Tiribasis**, general of Artaxerxes Mnemon, determines that prince not to fly before his brother Cyrus, ii. 248; he commands the fleet of Artaxerxes against Evagoras, and besieges that prince in Salamin, 298; he is falsely accused by Orontes, and carried to the court in chains, 299; trial of Tiribasis, 302; the king discovers his innocence, and restores him to his favour, ib.; Tiribasis,

accompanies Artaxerxes in that prince's expedition against the Caduceans, ib.; his stratagem for making that people return to their obedience to the Persians, 303.

**Tissaphernes**, Persian of quality, is appointed by Darius to reduce Pisuthenes, governor of Lydia, ii. 153; he effects it, and has the government of Lydia for his reward, ib.; he suffers himself to be seduced by the flattery of Alcibiades, and gives himself up entirely to him, 205; he concludes a treaty with the Peloponnesians, 207; he causes Alcibiades to be seized, and sent prisoner to Sardis, 211; he commands in the army of Artaxerxes Mnemon at the battle of Cunaxa, and distinguishes himself in it, 249, 251; he takes upon him to re-conduct the Greeks into their own country, 257; he seizes Clearchus and the other generals by treachery, and sends them to Artaxerxes, 258; he joins Pharnabazus to oppose the enterprises of Dercyllidas, 273; he sends to command Agesilaus to quit Asia, and to declare war against him in case of refusal, 281; he is defeated near Sardis, 282; he is treacherously accused, ib.; Artaxerxes puts him to death, ib.; character of Tissaphernes, ib.

**Tunis**, in Africa, taken by Regulus, i. 215; the revolted mercenaries make it their place of arms, 226.

**Tyre**, city of Phœnicia; its foundation, iii. 107; Tyre besieged and taken by Nabucodonosor, i. 332; Darius reinstates it in its ancient privileges, 546; Tyre besieged and taken by Alexander, iii. 114; then by Antigonus, 290; accomplishment of the different prophecies concerning Tyre, 116.

**Tyrtæus**, Greek poet, sent by the Athenians to the Lacedæmonians to command them, i. 96; whose courage he revives, and occasions their gaining a great victory over the Messenians, ib.; made citizen of Sparta, ib.; character of his poetry, ib.

**VARRO** (C. Terentius,) defeated by Hannibal at the battle of Cannæ, i. 255.



- Uchoreus**, king of Egypt, builds Memphis, i. 147.
- Ventidius**, Roman soldier, rises to the highest dignities by his merit, iv. 311; he revenges the disgrace of the Romans at the battle of Carræ, and defeats the Parthians upon several occasions, 312.
- Urania**, divinity of the Carthaginians, i. 171.
- Utica**, city of Africa, joins the revolted mercenaries, i. 229; reduced to surrender at discretion, 230; submits to the Romans, 286.
- Uxii**, people upon the frontiers of Persia, iii. 147.

## W

**WRESTLING**; exercise of wrestling among the ancients, i. 53.

## X

- XANTHIPPIUS**, Spartan, commands the Carthaginians, i. 217; he defeats Regulus, 218; retires, and disappears soon after, ib.
- Xanthippus**, Athenian, joined in command with Leutychides king of Sparta, defeats the Persians near Mycale, ii. 49.
- Xenophon**, historian and philosopher; he engages in the service of Cyrus the younger, ii. 246; he commands the ten thousand after the death of Clearchus, and brings them back into their own country, 260; he joins the Lacedæmonians in the war with Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, ii. 271; he acts under Agesilaus at the battle of Coronea, 290.
- Xerxes I.** son of Darius, is elected king of Persia in preference to his brother Artabanus, i. 564; he confirms the Jews in their privileges, ii. 9; he reduces Egypt, ib.; he prepares to invade Greece, ib.; he deliberates with his council concerning that expedition, 9; wise speech of Artabanus to him, 11; rage of Xerxes upon that occasion, ib.; he discovers his error, and confesses it in full council, ib.; the war is resolved, 13; Xerxes enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians, ib.; i. 193; he begins his march, and gives order for cutting a way through mount Athos, ii. 15; his letter to that mountain upon that subject, ib.; he advances to Sardis, ib. his cruelty to Pythius, ib.; he marches towards the Hellespont, 16; he causes the sea to be chastised for having broken the bridge of boats which he had laid over it, 17; he orders a second to be built, and passes the Hellespont with his army, 18; numbers of his forces, ib.; Demeratus tells him freely his thoughts of this enterprise, 21; three hundred Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopylæ with Xerxes, 27; that prince in his rage causes the dead body of Leonidas to be affixed to a gibbet, ib.; he takes and burns Athens, 33; he is defeated at Salamin, 36; he leaves Mardonius in Greece, and returns precipitately into Asia, ib.; violent passion of Xerxes for the wife of his brother Masistus, and afterwards for Artainta, that princess' daughter, 50; he causes Masistus to be put to death, 51; he gives himself up to luxury and voluptuousness, 65; he is killed by Artabanus captain of his guards, 66; character of Xerxes, ib.
- Xerxes II.** son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, ii. 151; assassinated by his brother Sogdianus, ib.
- Z**
- ZALEUCUS**, legislator of the Locrians, wisdom of his laws, ii. 122.
- Zancle**, city of Sicily, ii. 168. See Messene.
- Zerah**, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, defeated by Asa, king of Judah, i. 155.
- Zopyrus**, Persian lord, mutilates himself to regain Babylon for his master, Darius, i. 531; he makes that prince master of Babylon, 532; his reward for so great a service, ib.
- Zoroaster**, founder of the sect of the magi among the Persians, i. 456.
- Zoroaster**, another reformer of the same sect, i. 457.



